

STUDIES IN
VENETIAN HISTORY

HORATIO BROWN



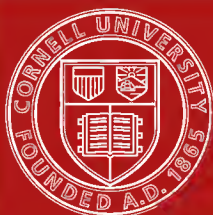
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STUDIES IN THE
HISTORY OF VENICE

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CONTENTS

VOL. II

	PAGE
VENETIAN DIPLOMACY AT THE SUBLIME PORTE DURING	
THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	I
THE INDEX LIBRORUM PROHIBITORUM AND THE CEN-	
SORSHIP OF THE VENETIAN PRESS	39
A VENETIAN PRINTER-PUBLISHER IN THE SIXTEENTH	
CENTURY	88
CARDINAL CONTARINI AND HIS FRIENDS	110
THE MARRIAGE OF IBRAIM PASHA	134
AN INTERNATIONAL EPISODE	146
SHAKSPEARE AND VENICE	159
MARCANTONIO BRAGADIN, A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY CAG-	
LIOSTRO	181
PAOLA SARPI, THE MAN	208
THE SPANISH CONSPIRACY: AN EPISODE IN THE DECLINE	
OF VENICE	245
CROMWELL AND THE VENETIAN REPUBLIC	296

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF VENICE

Venetian Diplomacy at the Sublime Porte during the Sixteenth Century

VENETIAN diplomacy during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries was recognized as the fullest and ablest in Europe. The despatches addressed to the "Doge and Senate," or on rarer but more important occasions to the "Chiefs of the Council of Ten," fill many rooms in the storehouse of the Frari, and have furnished, and continue to furnish, to students of all nationalities, a rich and varied and sometimes piquant picture of the condition of Europe generally. Despatches were sent as a rule once a week; but at a crisis, or if some matter of moment called for fuller attention, they follow each other in daily succession and occasionally number three and four a day. When we remember that Venice kept her agents in every capital of the small Italian states and at the court of every sovereign in Europe, that she received reports from Russia, Turkey, Italy, Spain, France, England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, we can understand that little of moment escaped the meshes of her diplomatic service, and that the Venetian ambassador became the accredited source of information—if authorized to give it—especially on the affairs of the East, where Venetian interests largely lay.

The Republic was served diplomatically by agents of varying rank—ambassadors extraordinary, called

2 VENETIAN DIPLOMACY AT THE PORTE

orators if accredited to the Porte; ambassadors ordinary, or liegers, accredited to crowned heads and to Savoy; ministers called residents, accredited to the smaller courts of Italy; consuls; and on rare occasions special envoys styled *nobilis existens in* —.¹ At Constantinople the agent-in-ordinary bore the title of *Bailo*, with character and attributes, as we shall presently see, somewhat different from those of his diplomatic colleagues. Of these agents the ambassadors extraordinary, the liegers, the *nobiles existentes*, and the bailo were elected from the Venetian patriciate; the residents were citizens of Venice appointed from the ranks of the secretaries in the Chancery, and bore the styles of "circumspect," *circo-spetto*. The more important consulates were filled by patricians, the lesser ones by merchants trading on the spot. The ambassadors, the residents, and the *nobiles* were elected by the Senate and commissioned by the Senate, that department of state which was entrusted with the direction of foreign affairs; the bailo, for reasons to be presently explained, was elected in the Great Council but commissioned by the Senate; consuls in Italy and Western Europe were appointed by the Great Council; while those in the Levant were named by the bailo.²

The blue ribbon of Venetian diplomatic service down to 1574 was undoubtedly the bailage at Constantinople.³ The fact that Venice enjoyed almost a

¹ E.g. Lorenzo Bernardo, 1591, "Nobilis noster existens in Constantinopoli," and "Nobile a Pietroburgo"; cf. *Venezia e sue Lagune* (Venice), vol. i. 202.

² Residents were addressed by the Senate with the *tu* of an inferior; ambassadors in their commissions with the *tu* of an equal and in their instructions—when they had assumed their full dignity by presenting credentials—with the *voi* of respect.

³ See Albèri, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti* (Firenze: 1844), vol. vi. p. 36. Barbarigo: "Dico, dunque, che Vostra Serenità, per opinione mia, non da carico alcuno, nè in la città nè fuori, di maggior importanza e di più gran travaglio a chi lo esercita, di questo," p. 419; Bernardo: "Perchè, illustrissimi, non è dubbio, che il più importante negozio che abbia questo stato, è quello di Costantinopoli."

monopoly of the Levant trade, that the balance of sea power in the Mediterranean, between Spain on the one hand and the Turk on the other, lay with her; the constant friction with the Turk over slaves, reciprocal piracy in the Levant, the frontiers of Dalmatia, and the ever-present menace to Venetian possessions in Cyprus and Crete, all contributed to render the office of bailo delicate, dangerous, and of the highest importance. But with the decline of Venetian trade which marks the course of the sixteenth century, with the loss of Cyprus and the eclipse of Venetian prestige, with the growing alarm at Spanish encroachments in Italy, the centre of Venetian diplomatic activity shifted from Constantinople to Rome.

Venice enjoyed one notable advantage over the other states of Europe represented at Constantinople in the antiquity and continuity of that diplomatic post. For the bailage of Constantinople was, in fact, the continuance of the ancient office of *Podestà Venetiano e despota a Costantinopoli*, an office established in 1205, when, immediately after the Fourth Crusade, the Latin Empire was erected on the Bosphorus. In 1261, at the restoration of the Greek empire in the family of the Palæologi, the Venetian *podestà* was by treaty allowed to remain, but with the title no longer of *podestà*, which conveyed the sense of the lordship acquired by Henrico Dandolo, but of *baiulus*, tutor or protector, a title which accurately described the essential functions of the bailo, the protection of Venetians and Venetian interests at Constantinople. On the advent of the Turk, and when it seemed probable that the Sultan Mahommed II. would destroy the Greek empire, Venice entered into treaty with the conqueror at Adrianople, in December, 1452.¹ This treaty was confirmed and amplified on April 18, 1454,² when the Turk had captured Constantinople. The terms of that treaty give us the Venetian bailage

¹ *Commemoriali*, xii. 95, edit. Predelli.

² *Ibid.* xiv. 137 (136).

4 VENETIAN DIPLOMACY AT THE PORTE

as we find it in the sixteenth century. The treaty was the work of Bartolomeo Marcello, the first Venetian bailo at Constantinople under the Turks. Its leading clauses provided that all Venetian subjects and merchants should enjoy free access to every part of the Turkish empire, under protection from the Turk. Venice was to pay tribute for Lepanto, and for Scutari and Alessio in Albania. Supplementary articles provided that Venetians should pay a duty of two per cent. on sales and two per cent. on purchases; all Venetian shipping must touch at Constantinople in passing; the Black Sea was to be open to Venetian traders; all servants of Venetians were to be protected; equality of customs to prevail in both states; mutual protection in ports; the property of Venetians deceased, intestate or without heirs, to be at the disposition of the bailo; the Venetians were bound in no way to assist the enemies of the sultan and *vice versa*, nor might Venice offer asylum in her Albanian or Roumanian territory to the sultan's traitors or foes; Venice was allowed to keep a bailo and his staff in Constantinople to exercise civil jurisdiction over all Venetians; and the bailo, if he desired, might call on the Turkish governor (subashi) for his aid.¹

This treaty, the first between any Christian power and the Turk after the fall of Constantinople, formed the basis of the bailo's position. He was there to protect Venetian commercial interests, and to exercise civil jurisdiction by the help of the Turkish authorities if required. But with the lapse of time the bailo's position was strengthened, both by concessions from the Turks and by growing prestige among his colleagues, who were gradually accredited by the European powers to the new masters of Constantinople. For example, the powers of the bailo's court were enlarged to embrace criminal as well as

¹ See Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (Gotha Perthes: 1854), ii. 33-7.

civil jurisdiction¹; the bailo could not be held personally responsible for the act of any Venetian subject—a concession of the highest importance, for it was one of the dangers of the bailo's position that the Turk originally claimed the right to visit on the bailo his anger against any member of the bailo's nation, and on more than one occasion proceeded to the arrest of the bailo for the recovery of pretended debts.²

In 1522 Marco Minio secured a modification of the capitulations. Venetian shipping was to salute the Turkish fleet; but, on the other hand, the bailo was no longer to be cited before the Cadi of Constantinople but before the Porte, and no Venetian could be tried before the cadi without the intervention of the Venetian dragoman. The bailo was undoubtedly recognized as the *doyen* of the diplomatic body at Constantinople. As we shall presently see, he ran the post for all the embassies, and his court was, with some few exceptions, the civil court for all foreigners.³ There are cases in which the English ambassador himself submitted to the jurisdiction of the Bailo.⁴

From this it is clear that the bailo filled two distinct positions at Constantinople. He was the diplomatic agent of the Republic, and he was Venetian consul as

¹ See Albèri, *op. cit.* vol. ix. p. 443: "Il bailo della Serenità Vostra ha una bellissima giurisdizione, poichè giudica li nostri suditi in civile e in criminale."

² *Archivio di Stato*, Senato, Secreta, Deliberazioni, Costantinopoli, reg. 1567, commission to Hieronimo Zane, "li nostri rapresentanti non possono esser astretti per debiti de alcuna persona."

³ See Albèri, *op. cit.* vol. ix. p. 443: "In civile concorrono tutte l'altre nazioni, anco i Francesi, eccetto pochissimi che vanno all'ambasciator di Francia, ed a questa autorità non apportano i Turchi pur un minimo pregiudizio, perchè se alcuno va innanzi a loro circa cose che appartengano al bailo lo rimettono subito a lui; e si come il primo, cioè il civile, è concesso per privilegio, così il criminale è ammesso per missive e senza alcuna condizione."

⁴ *Archivio di Stato*, Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Costantinopoli, June 20, 1594, and the enclosures from the archives of the Venetian bailo at Constantinople relating to the case, "Charles Helman against the English ambassador, Edward Barton."

6 VENETIAN DIPLOMACY AT THE PORTE

well—that is to say, he had the charge of Venetian commerce and the duty of protecting Venetian subjects. And this explains the anomaly that of all the Venetian ministers, envoys, or ambassadors, the bailo alone was elected by the Great Council, not by the Senate.

After election by the Great Council, the Senate proceeded to vote the bailo's salary and honorarium. Originally the salary amounted to one thousand ducats a year, but later on it was raised to one hundred and eighty ducats a month; three hundred ducats were allowed for outfit, three hundred for extraordinary expenses, chiefly for the journey, though this sum varied considerably, and occasionally reached the high figure of nine hundred ducats.¹ Besides these sums, the presents² for the sultan and the pashas were also voted, and a fund for secret service—bribes to pashas and payment of spies; this gradually mounted higher and higher during the sixteenth century. In 1503 it was only three hundred ducats, by 1566 it had reached five thousand. This same vote in the Senate regulated the bailo's household, which was to consist of ten servants. The term of the bailo's office was fixed at two years. The election of an ambassador extraordinary, or orator, to the Porte, on the other hand, took place in the Senate, and not in the Great Council. The pay was higher, two hundred ducats a month, three hundred for outfit, six hundred for extra expenses. The orator was ordered to take fifteen domestic servants, fifteen horses, four grooms, and four hundred ducats' worth of silver plate, purchased for him by the government, which he was bound to hand over on his return. His office lasted till the fulfilment of his special mission.³ But the expenses of the mission to Constantinople were very heavy, and

¹ See *Archivio di Stato*, Senato, Deliberazioni, Costantinopoli, March 19, 1566, commission of Jacopo Soranzo.

² See *Maggior Consiglio*, July 10, 1552.

³ See *Archivio di Stato*, Senato, Deliberazione, Costantinopoli, Feb. 19, 1566-7, commission of Marin Cavalli.

in order to relieve the envoy's private purse the Senate, in 1561, voted an extra donation of one thousand ducats, and a further thousand should the bailo remain at his post longer than the ordinary term of two years.

The commissions of both bailo and orator contained general instructions as to their attitude towards the representatives of other Powers at the Porte and special instructions on any point of disagreement pending between the Republic and the sultan. A copy of the commission was engrossed on parchment, often adorned with miniatures and handsomely bound in gilded leather, rich crimson velvet, mother-of-pearl, with chased silver corners; the ducal seals were attached to crimson silk ribbons. It accompanied the bailo or orator for constant study on his journey to Constantinople. The envoy, having been commissioned, proceeded to take the oath, by which he bound himself *di mantenere il decoro e di avvantaggiare il profitto della Repubblica*. His credentials were then prepared and engrossed on parchment. They were addressed to the grand signior, the grand vizir, and sometimes to other pashas of weight at the Porte; also to the capudan pasha, or high admiral, under whose immediate jurisdiction lay Pera, where the embassy was situated.¹ The credentials to the sultan bore the seal of the Republic in silver-gilt, those to the pashas in silver. The bailo also received the letter of recall for his predecessor.

Being now fully commissioned and accredited, the bailo proceeded to form his staff, his household, and his suite. The staff consisted of a secretary, assisted by a coadjutor, or *cogitor*, an accountant, or *raxonato*, and two or more dragoman students, *giovani della lingua*; the dragoman *grande*, who would accompany him to divan or to audiences, and the dragoman *piccolo*, who had charge of the commercial correspondence

¹ See Albèri, *op. cit.* iii. p. 122: "Il solo *subasci* di Pera è posto dal Capitano di mare, come quello che ha nella sua particolare giurisdizione il governo di quella terra."

8 VENETIAN DIPLOMACY AT THE PORTE

incident on the consular nature of his office, awaited him at Constantinople. His household consisted of a doctor (though this favour was not always allowed him by the cabinet), a majordomo, an apothecary, a barber. The embassy Mass was served by the monks of S. Francesco at Pera. His suite was composed of relations, sons or nephews, young Venetian gentlemen whom he chose at his own pleasure or to please his friends, young gentlemen from the mainland cities, young gentlemen from other Italian states, and sometimes young Frenchmen or foreigners anxious to see the world under the wing of a Venetian ambassador. For instance, Jacopo Soranzo (1581) took with him a suite of twelve—five Venetians, one Roman, two Bolognesi, two from Vicenza, one from Foligno, and one Albanian. Each of these was allowed to bring one servant with him.¹ This would make a party of over forty persons, including servants, with their personal luggage and the bales containing the presents.

For the transport of this mission the government provided two galleys, with instructions to call on the officer in command of the Adriatic squadron for escort should the seas be rumoured dangerous on account of pirates. The ambassador was also empowered to stop the Cattaro frigate² (*fregata Cattarina*), the post boat, which twice a month brought the Constantinople despatch bags from Cattaro to Venice, and to open, read, copy, reseal, and forward the despatches from the bailo he was about to relieve—this in order to keep himself informed of the latest news from the seat of his new embassy.

The Senate in its commission to a bailo usually left the choice of route to him, merely instructing him to

¹ See Albèri, *op. cit.* vi. 211: "Alla nuova di questa deputazione si mossero infiniti gentiluomini per mezzo di caldi uffici di Principi e di gentiluomini Veneziani, a cercare di esser ammessi nel numero di quelli che accompagnassero e servissero sua signoria illustrissima in questo viaggio."

² See Tormene, *Il Bailaggio a Costantinopoli di Girolamo Lippomano* (Venezia, Visentini: 1903).

proceed as fast as possible. Occasionally the bailo chose the all-sea route—at least, to the Turkish coast at the head of the Ægean, whence he proceeded by land.¹ More usually, however, they chose one of the two land routes, both of which started from Alessio in the valley of the Drin, not far from Dulcigno, where the embassy landed. The more northern of these two routes led by Uskiup to Philippopolis and Adrianople; the southern by El Basan and Monastir to Salonika, and thence along the coast by Rodosto to Constantinople.² Both were rough and dangerous, and whichever was chosen, the mission had usually to pass many days at Cattaro or Alessio waiting till horses, often numbering two hundred, could be procured, and till the Sanjak had made arrangements for supplying an escort. The bailo, who was frequently well on in years, travelled in a litter, the rest of the suite on horseback, with baggage mules and horses following. The caravanerais were so filthy that the mission camped out as much as possible.

Nothing, perhaps, will give us a better idea of what such a journey must have been like than to take the lively and picturesque account of the adventures of Vincenzo Gradenigo, which he gives us in his despatches of 1599. It is true that Gradenigo chose an unusual route, from Lepanto to Salonika, and that his journey was exceptionally disastrous—in fact, he never recovered from it, and died at Constantinople, which he only just managed to reach; but his narrative is the fullest and most instructive to be found during the century with which we are dealing. Gradenigo shall speak for himself.³

“Most serene prince,” he writes, “my last despatch was sent on July 30 from Patras. In it I gave an

¹ See Albèri, *op. cit.* vi. 221, Journey of Jacopo Soranzo (1851).

² See *Diario del Viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli fatto da M. Jacopo Soranzo*, 1575 (Venezia, Merle: 1856), per le Nozze Trieste-Vivante.

³ *Archivio di Stato*, Senato, Dispacci, Costantinopoli, 1599 August 27.

account of my journey, which up to that moment had been both prosperous and happy. But since that date no more unfortunate or painful a journey, as indeed I always suspected, could possibly be dreamed of. Your serenity will remember that I told you so privately, and publicly expressed the same view in the cabinet.

"Well, I left Patras in three little boats, escorted by fifty Turkish harquebusiers and as many horse. They brought us down to the shore, where the forts, in honor of your serenity, saluted me with three guns—a most unusual occurrence, for even the grandees of this empire are not so honoured on their passage of the Gulf.

"On reaching Lepanto we were lodged in a garden, in the open, as indeed we have been lodged throughout the whole journey. Our camp was pitched hard by some delicious springs of water. The *cadi* came to visit me, and brought a present of fruit in abundance. Other Turkish persons of importance also paid their respects, and almost the whole city came out to see us.

"From Lepanto I set out for Arso [?Larissa], a large and populous city, and there began my troubles, for twelve of my servants, my book-keeper, my secretary, and the student dragomans fell ill. The reason, as I take it, was a surfeit of fruit, the bad air, the ice-cold water, and the burning sun. On the road I could not supply them with anything save some sugar-candy and citron juice which I had in my baggage. May God forgive those members of the cabinet who refused me a doctor; had it not been for this, for sure I had never fallen on such misfortunes as I am now about to relate. The second day after reaching Larissa the nephew of Borissi the dragoman died; he was a fine youth, full of vigour. The third day my butler died; the fourth day a servant of the illustrious Agostino Gussoni. Seeing, then, that every hour another man fell ill—till I found myself with twenty-four sick persons on my hands, among them Signor Ottavio Mocenigo and two gentlemen from Padua—all of us

conceived a desire to depart from that city ; not one of us wished to stay, for there was an absolute lack of all necessaries, and moreover the place was insecure on account of the evil character of its inhabitants. We accordingly took the road, and in two days came to Platamona, where the next morning the booking-clerk, Messer Alvise Bruzoni, dropped dead. Here my whole household, except Messer Zuanne Vitturi, Francesco, my son, Messer Giacomo Girardi, the coadjutor, and myself fell ill, some of a flux and some of persistent fever ; so, being now on the sea-shore, I resolved to hire two ships to take us from Platamona to Salonika. All I could do did not save Mazi, the student dragoon, nor yet my majordomo from death, with the result that I have lost six servants, and among these my oldest and most trusted.

"Praise be to God for all ! My continual fatigue and watching, imposed on me by these accidents, have thrown me into a double tertian fever, though not persistent. A like fate has befallen Signor Agostino Gussoni. In very truth not one of us but has done his utmost to help our poor sufferers, by cupping and bleeding them with their own hands. Your serenity must be well aware that even a single case of sickness in a house keeps the whole household on the stretch ; and here were we only five sound men to undertake all the day and night nursing. I had wanted to stay on in Larissa to allow the sick to recover ; but the fact that there were none of the barest necessities, not even a house, but only a caravanzera pestilent with the stench of droves of cattle, and a great suspicion that the whole air was poisoned by the carcasses of dead oxen on the road, induced me to set out.

"Of my servants who are sick, the doctors here, who seem very intelligent, lead me to fear that I must lose three ; the rest will pull through, I hope to God, as they are mending somewhat. Signor Agostino Gussoni and I have been through the same experiences ; we took medicine this morning with good

results, and to-morrow the doctors intend to bleed us—a very serious matter for me at my age ; however, I shall follow the doctor's advice. It is impossible for me, in the midst of such misfortunes, not to be cut to the heart ; I have to be on the watch day and night ; but I thank God for all He is pleased to send me, being firmly convinced that everything takes place by His most holy will.

“ I shall stay on here—where I am very well lodged in three houses of Venetian Jews—until I see the end of this sickness, which pray God be soon. But I feel bound to repeat what I said above, that I should not have been exposed to such ruin had I had an Italian doctor with me—a favour that was readily granted to Signor Zuanne Correr and to others ; and may God pardon him who was the cause of this ! I had with me the apothecary and the barber, but they were the very first to succumb ; I hired a doctor in Larissa, but he turned out an *ignoramus*. I tried to get Jews to attend on the sick, but not a single one would come with me, though I jingled the ducats under their eyes.

“ I wish to God I had cheerful, not doleful, news for your serenity, as I know how grieved both you and the whole of the excellent senate must be to hear of such sufferings borne by an old and faithful servant.

“ I must now report another mishap of some moment which befell me in Platamona. All our baggage was down at the sea-shore in charge of two servants, when the brigands appeared on the scene and began to break open our trunks to pillage the contents. There happened, however, to pass by the *capigi*, a man of great courage and kindness of heart ; he shouted out that it was the Venetian ambassador on his way to the sultan ; the brigands asked where I was, and said among themselves that as they knew we were all ill, it would be the best plan to make us slaves or to kill us all, and this would be the safest way for them to keep our goods. With this intent they came up the hill where we were camping, but

the capigi took a short cut and came flying up to warn us. We were on the point of sending the sick down to the shore in sixteen carts. I then deployed twenty Greeks, who were our escort, and they and the rest of us, drawn close up together, awaited the result. Meantime the bey arrived in company with the brigands and one janizary; they caracolled in front of us, and one with a lance pressed up to us to challenge us. But at this moment the cadî, who had been summoned by the capigi, appeared on the scene with fifty Greeks. The brigands took shelter in the caravanzerai and held the door with their scimitars when the cadî tried to force his way in. The cadî then ordered his men to seize everybody at the door dead or alive; this order the Greeks carried out courageously, using sticks and stones. All the ten brigands were wounded at least twice. The cadî ordered three of them to be taken and bound together, the janizary and two others, and proceeded to try them then and there: one was sent to the castle to be hanged next morning, another was condemned to two hundred bastinadoes on the soles of his feet, and they were administered in my presence; the third, the janizary, was sent to Salonika to await orders from Constantinople, as a janizary may not be tried by any save his own captain. All the same, the governor has sent in a very unfavourable account of him to the Porte. I would not allow any of my people to stir, though some of the sick did get out of the carts. This is a full account of what took place during this episode, which lasted three hours. And thus by the grace of God we escaped from this peril with much honour and general satisfaction.

"Postscript, August 28.—All the sick are going on well. As for me, seeing the improvement last night, I have resolved not to be bled.

"SALONIKA, September 5.—The day after I wrote my last despatch the fever mounted so rapidly that the doctors were compelled to draw eight ounces of blood

I submitted willingly, hoping thus to escape a worse mishap. But the fever returned at its usual hour, and with it a terrible restlessness, which was augmented by the fearful heat. Next day the fever returned earlier with a cold fit of two hours, and then the usual hot fit; and so for the next two days, when they gave me a dose of rhubarb and manna, which worked wonders. The other sick are going on well. Besides the six who have died, a French gentleman—commended to me by the Chevalier Duodo—a brother of Varini, the baker, and the servant of the secretary have all succumbed in these last eight days, so that we have now lost ten of our company.

"In this plight, ill myself, and all my household recovering but slowly, with five hundred miles still to cover, I resolved to write to the bailo to send two galleys to fetch me. Our sickness is not contagious, but is caused by the excessively high temperature, the bad guiding of the Turks, and the ice-cold water which every one drinks in the hope of combating the heat, but which produces the very opposite effect.

"*SALONIKA, October 10.*—The deaths in my household now number eighteen. The fever returned on me, and has rendered me so weak that I can hardly sit up in bed. But for the service of your serenity and to get away from here, I have this morning resolved to rise, and after receiving the blessed Sacrament, to get into my coach and depart. Nine of my household are still sick, and these I send by sea for their greater convenience. I failed to secure the two galleys; there were none in Constantinople."

Gradenigo reached Constantinople at last on October 30. His condition was so deplorable that the resident bailo, Capello, called in four doctors in consultation, who pronounced the case dangerous. They continued the treatment of cupping, but he was soon stricken with a palsy, followed by dropsy, and after lingering on for three months, he expired on February 22, 1600.

Not all Venetian envoys were so unfortunate as Gradenigo, though every one of them describes the journey as difficult and dangerous. Arrived at the Sweet Waters, the bailo would halt and pitch his camp, waiting the arrival of his predecessor accompanied by the leading merchants of Pera, the secretaries, and sometimes the chiefs of other foreign missions, and the janizaries and spahis whom the grand vizir sent to meet the new ambassador, but for whom he had to pay.¹ From the number sent the bailo gathered a first inkling of the reception in store for him.

For his entry into Pera the envoy donned his official robes, a close-fitting tunic reaching to his ankles, called the *duliman*, made of purple silk damask; above that a long cloak of crimson satin, lined with velvet, or precious furs for winter wear, called the *ducale*; his shoes were of crimson velvet, embroidered in gold; on his head a bonnet of silk damask adorned with a diamond jewel. His horse was draped in a tabard of crimson velvet which swept the ground. Accompanied by his predecessor, gentlemen from other embassies, merchants, Turkish officers, spahis and janizaries, the bailo was brought to his lodging, where, in the courtyard, tables were spread for the janizaries, spahis, and common folk; upstairs, at three great tables, sat the Turkish officials, and at a fourth the bailos and their suites; the feast lasted "tre grosse ore."

The Venetian embassy, now the Austrian embassy, stood in the Vigne di Pera, on the crest of the hill, looking over the Bosphorus, with gardens and vineyards sloping down towards the water. From the embassy the new bailo and his predecessor set out to wait on the grand vizir, to hand in credentials, and to offer the present. The grand vizir appointed the day for the banquet and the audience of the sultan in divan.

All ceremonial was ordered according to a book of

¹ Albèri, *op. cit.* vi. 52, Daniele Barbarigo, 1564.

precedents¹ kept in duplicate at the embassy and at the Porte. The bailo's instructions always contained an injunction to suffer no interference with precedent and to be on his guard against any diminution of prestige; the Turk, on the other hand, constantly endeavoured to introduce some modification which would mark the inferiority of the *giaour*, and a bailo's first difficulty was to secure the observance of full ceremonial at divan, banquet, and audience. The banquet, which preceded the audience, was a matter of great importance, for it was considered as the right of crowned heads only. Venice had always claimed, and at most courts had established her claim, to rank with crowned heads. But on the loss of the kingdom of Cyprus an attempt was made to rob her of that rank. At the court of St. James the sovereign James I. settled the question in favour of the Republic by declaring that she still held Crete,² which he said was a kingdom. At the Porte, however, a more determined attempt was made to withhold the banquet from the first Venetian embassy that reached Constantinople after the fall of Famagosta. The mission was one of extreme delicacy, as its object was to effect a peace. It consisted of two envoys, an orator, Andrea Badoer, and a bailo, Antonio Tiepolo, who was to succeed Marcantonio Barbaro. They reached Pera on August 28, 1572, but found that the sultan was out hunting. He returned on October 7, and the 15th was appointed for the audience. The ambassadors and their suites were all ready to set out, when it came to their ears that the Turk intended to refuse them the banquet on the ground that Venice no longer ranked as a crowned head. Thereupon the three envoys resolved not to go to audience. An exchange of messages then took place between Pera and Stambûl, and the grand

¹ See Albèri, *op. cit.* iii. 375: "Non trovarsi scritto nei libri pubblici il banchetto," and "provandogli . . . con li medesini libri de' baili."

² *Archivio di Stato*, Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Inghilterra, Jan. 13, 1612.

vizir sent word by Orimbey, the grand dragoman, and Salamon, his Jew doctor, both of whom had acted as intermediaries, to warn the ambassadors that they had better take care what they did, for if they failed to appear next morning in divan, they would offend a powerful and coleric prince, who would think nothing of beheading all three. All three, however, sent back to say that they did not fear death in defence of their country's honour, nor was their country so feeble but that she could easily reopen the war, and that without the banquet they would not go to divan. To soften this refusal, at least in the eyes of the public, who were beginning to gossip about the incident, the orator resolved to feign illness, and went to bed. This was past midnight on the night of the 14th, and as the divan was to be held as usual at daybreak on the 15th, there was no time to countermand it. The divan, in fact, met, the janizaries were drawn up, the grand signior himself was dressed and in his place; but the Venetian envoys did not appear. Three messengers were sent, one after another, to bid them hasten; but the Venetians merely resolved to send Francesco Barbaro, a relation of the retiring bailo, to say that the orator was ill and in bed. The grand vizir did not believe the story, but he dared not tell the truth to the sultan for fear of his own head; he therefore adopted the tale, and without much difficulty induced the sultan to accept it also. The two bailos then waited on the grand vizir, asserted the reality of Badoer's illness, and complained of the insult intended for them. After much discussion the grand vizir gave way, and the banquet and audience were fixed for November 1.

Having secured the observance of full ceremonial, a bailo would go to divan on the day appointed. The divan was held on Saturdays, Sundays, Mondays, and Tuesdays only, and as a rule the sultan was not present except for the purpose of granting an audience of reception or of *congé*, the only occasion on which an envoy had a personal interview with the grand

signor. The earlier sultans had been in the habit of attending divan behind a little curtained window, where they could hear all that passed.¹ But after the reign of Soliman the Magnificent the management of affairs was entrusted more and more to the grand vizir. The divan consisted of the grand vizir, three or four pashas of tails, the capudan pasha, the belierbeys of Greece and Anatolia, two *cadileskiers*, or chief justices, three *tefterdars*, or treasurers, the *nishanj*, or chancellor, and the chief of the janizaries; in attendance were the dragomans of the grand vizir and a crowd of clerks and messengers. The grand vizir alone despatched business; if he chose, he consulted his colleagues, who otherwise remained silent. It also rested with him to submit matters or not to the sultan's decision; this was done by a written note, on which the sultan scribbled his answer. The divan was open to every one: petitioners, plaintiffs, all, in short, who had business were introduced one by one by the grand vizir's dragomans, heard and rapidly answered. After divan, the two *cadileskiers*, then the grand vizir, then the aga of the janizaries were received by the sultan; the *tefterdars* had audience on Sundays and Tuesdays only.

On the day appointed for his first audience the bailo in his full robes, accompanied by his suite and servants bearing the present, crossed the Golden Horn in small boats called *perms*, from Galata to Stambûl. At the landing-place they found horses awaiting them, and an escort of spahis, janizaries, and messengers, or *chaushes*. They rode uphill past Santa Sofia to the great gate of the seraglio and into the first court, a vast open space surrounded by porticoes, where the cavalry or spahis were drawn up in order. Dismounting, the bailo and suite passed through the middle gate into the second court, turfed and planted with trees; there they found, ranked in full uniform, in absolute silence and motion-

¹ Albèri, *op. cit.* iii. 119, Trevisan, 1554. Note the pose of the sultan in Gentile Bellini's portrait of Mahomet II. in the Lazard Gallery.

less, six or seven thousand janizaries ; under a loggia at the farther end sat their aga. At the extreme end of this courtyard was the chamber of the divan, adorned with pillars and tessellated pavement of marble. The bailo was introduced into this chamber and seated among the pashas, who entered into conversation with him while the grand vizir was despatching business. The suite remained outside and the servants began to unpack and lay out the present. This consisted of webs of cloth of gold, silk damask, robes of scarlet cloth, silver plate, cheeses from Piacenza, confectionery. All this was distributed among the janizaries, who were deputed to carry it presently past the window of the sultan's chamber and to deposit it in the treasury or *caznà*. As the sultan rarely deigned to examine the present, the bailos sometimes recommend that it should be remarkable for quantity rather than quality. No one could venture to approach the sultan without a present ; but the present soon resolved itself for most Turks into a sum of money conveyed by a legal fiction, for the present was frequently bought out of the treasury and returned to it, to be used again and again.¹ The imperial revenue from presents amounted to about eight million ducats a year, or about as much as the revenue from other sources.²

While the present was being unpacked, the banquet was served in the chamber of the divan. It consisted of twenty-five courses of rice and peas, boiled mutton, roast lamb, fish, pastry, fried dough balls, *qualche lavoraccio di pasta con miele*, no fruit, no sweets, all washed down with sherbet. There were no forks,

¹ See Albèri, *op. cit.* iii. 275, Marin Cavalli, 1560 : "Le vesti di seta dei donativi sono moltiplicate tanto nel caznà del gran signore, che han trovato modo perchè non crescano più ed insieme non perdere il quadagno, che quando un suddito vuol far donativo al gran signore, quelli del caznà gli dimandono che cosa vuol dare e gli vendono il tutto ; dimodochè il danaro entra e le robe ritornano ancora."

² See Albèri, *op. cit.* iii. 427, Garzoni, 1573.

20 VENETIAN DIPLOMACY AT THE PORTE

no napkins, and only wooden spoons. The suite meantime were fed outside under the portico, in sight of the troops, sitting cross-legged on the ground. Their food was much the same as that served to their master.

When the banquet was finished, the sultan was informed that the bailo was waiting to be received. He was then taken to an inner courtyard of the seraglio, in one corner of which stood a little pavilion surrounded by a colonnade of fine marble pillars. This was the sultan's chamber. At the door stood ushers in robes of cloth of gold and silver, with tall hats on their heads. The envoy and those of his suite who were to be admitted to kiss the sultan's skirts were then seized by the arms and held at the wrist and at the elbow by two young men, one on each side, and were thus introduced into the presence.¹ The grand signor sat on a divan covered with silk, wrought in gold thread and sewn with pearls, diamonds, rubies, and other stones. On the ground were rich Persian carpets, and in the middle of the chamber a brazier of solid gold, inlaid with precious stones. On a level with his head was a little window, through which, if he chose, he could see the present defiling by. The sultan wore a robe of cloth of gold, and sat motionless, his eyes on the ground, his hands in his pockets or in his lap. The bailo was forced down on his knees and given a corner of the sultan's robe to kiss. His suite did the same, and were then led out backwards. The bailo was then placed opposite the sultan, with his back to the wall, and made his address, which was interpreted by the grand dragoman. The sultan received it all with an air of bored indifference; usually he said nothing, making as though he did not hear; sometimes, if very

¹ See Soranzo, *Viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli*, 1575. The reason for this procedure was either to secure that they should make the proper reverences, or, as another version has it, to prevent them offering violence to the sovereign.

gracious, he would slightly bow his head or say, "Giozel"—that is, "Very well." At the close of this humiliating performance the bailo was hurriedly backed out of the presence, and the audience was over. He regained his suite in the outer court, and as they left the seraglio point "the thundering tramp of the disbanding janizaries shook the ground, and the envoy was amazed and delighted at the order and discipline of the troops."¹

Being now fully accredited to the Porte, the bailo proceeded to the discharge of his duties. Those duties fell into two groups, consular and diplomatic, and we may consider them separately. But first a word must be said as to the working of the embassy. Besides the staff he brought with him, the bailo found at Constantinople two or more dragomans, the dragoman *grande*, who accompanied him to audiences and was intermediary between the embassy and the Porte, and the dragoman *piccolo*, who attended to the commercial correspondence and kept the shipping registers. The Venetian envoys, on their return from their mission, frequently dwell on the importance of the dragomans, and point out how essential it is that they should be able, obedient, honest, for the bailo in his dealings with the Turk was almost entirely in their hands. The bailos often complain that these essential qualities were lacking; that the dragoman not uncommonly endeavoured to supplant the bailo, negotiating on behalf of Venetian subjects directly with the authorities, and, of course, receiving the solatium for his own pocket. Bernardo Navagero (1553) was the first to suggest the establishment of student dragomans, in the hope that a school of able and honest public servants might thus be created. His successor, in fact, did take out two *giovani della lingua*, sons of Venetian citizens. But the result was not encouraging. The young men took to loose living, and the corruption of the Turkish women—enough,

¹ See Alberi, *op. cit.* iii. 359, Badoaro, 1573.

as Bernardo says, *di fare di un santo un Diavolo*—ended by converting some of them to Islam. The evil repute of the post of student dragoman induced Venetian parents to refuse to send their sons to Constantinople, and the embassy was forced to employ Turkish subjects, sons of dragomans by long profession. As an example of the difficulty which the bailo encountered in the employment of these hereditary dragomans, we may cite the case of Matthea,¹ who in 1574 was reported home as worse than useless, in spite of the benefits received by his family from father to son. The Council of Ten, accordingly, on October 22, proposed to dismiss him, but the motion fell through. Eighteen years later, however, in 1592, on the unfavourable report of Lorenzo Bernardo, the Ten proposed to instruct the bailo to poison Matthea, as they knew that he frequently dined at the embassy; the was to be carried out cautiously, so that there should be no signs of a violent death, but that the accident should appear to be due to sudden indisposition. The bailo, for some reason unexplained, did not fulfil these orders, and his successor, Marco Venier, on the eve of his departure for Constantinople, was instructed to make away with Matthea—who was coming to meet him at Ragusa—either by poison, or by some other means which should bear the appearance of a natural death caused by the hardships and dangers of the mountain journey. We do not know what happened to Matthea, but the episode illustrates the difficulties inherent in the employment of non-Venetian dragomans, who were usually under the protection and often in the pay of the great pashas.

Besides the dragomans, the bailos found it necessary to employ a secret agent, or intermediary, called a *mezzano*. He was usually a Jew doctor, who, as not being a Christian, had more ready access to the houses of the pashas, and as a physician even to their harems. The duties of the *mezzano* were to keep the embassy

¹ Lamansky, *op. cit.* pp. 102-5.

informed of what was taking place in the Turkish official world and in the seraglio of the grand turk; to note the changes of imperial favour, and to indicate whose star was in the ascendant, whose upon the wane. The *mezzano* was highly paid, and frequently employed on the most delicate negotiations, as in the case of the Jew doctor Salomon, who was the chief agent in bringing about the peace of 1574. But in many cases the *mezzani* were nothing other than *spie doppie*—that is, they told the pashas as much about the embassy as they told the bailo about the harem, and drew their money with both hands.

For the protection of the embassy the Turk insisted on furnishing three janizaries, for whom, however, the bailo paid, and who were of little use, even, as we shall presently see, sometimes conniving at the escape of prisoners.

The revenue of the embassy was derived from the *cottimo*,¹ or duty—three-quarters per cent. levied on all Venetian goods that entered, and one and a quarter per cent. on all goods that left the port. In 1594 it brought in five thousand ducats a year; another two thousand were derived from the Turkish export customs, making a revenue of seven thousand ducats in all.² The accounts were kept in two sets, the consular and the diplomatic, in order to distinguish what properly fell to the state to pay and what to the merchants. The expenses, as regards bribes and presents, were regulated by decrees of the Senate³; but they showed a steady tendency to rise till the bailage of Marin Cavalli, who endeavoured to introduce economy in presents, and thereby incurred the hatred of the dragomans and the Turks. He declared on his return that if things had been allowed to go on

¹ See Rezasco, *Vocabolario Amministrativo*, s.v. "Cottimo."

² See Albèri, *op. cit.* ix. 443, Matteo Zane, 1594.

³ See *Archivio di Stato*, Senato, Delib. Costantinopoli, Registri, March 19, 1566, Commission to Jacopo Soranzo, where the previous regulations as regards expenses are recited.

24 VENETIAN DIPLOMACY AT THE PORTE

as they were, thirty thousand ducats a year would not have satisfied Turkish rapacity. Cavalli laid down rules for his own guidance, declaring that excessive presents argued fear and weakness; that the more you give the Turk the more he will want; you should never pay when in the right; nor should you ever pay for the liberation of slaves, as that is provided for in the capitulations; if successful, some small gift may properly be made, but you should obtain your demand first on the ground of right. Brave principles, but powerless at the Porte. They only led to Cavalli's failure and recall.

The consular side of the bailo's duties may be divided into two departments—the commercial and the judicial. In the commercial department the bailo had the assistance of a Council of Twelve,¹ chosen from among the resident Venetian merchants. In all matters affecting the commercial interests of Venetians he consulted the Twelve, though the decision as to the policy to be pursued rested with him, as did the appointments to the consulates of Cairo, Aleppo, Syria, and Chios.² That the bailos recognized the great importance of the consular side of their mission is clear from their remarks. "Il carico principale," says Navagero in 1553, "di un bailo di Costantinopoli è la defensione delle mercanzie della nazione." But that trade was steadily declining through the sixteenth century. Navagero³ says that few Venetian merchant houses remain in Constantinople; Cavalli puts them at ten or twelve at the most. Both express surprise that even these hold on. Venetian capital embarked in the Turkey trade in 1560 amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand ducats in the silk, woollen, and glass trade, and one hundred and thirty thousand ducats in leather, cordage, and food-stuffs. Both bailos attribute this decline to depreciation of gold, to rise in

¹ See Rezasco, *op. cit.* s.v. "Consiglio di XII."

² See Albèri, *op. cit.* i. 56-7.

³ See Albèri, *op. cit.* iii. 101, 274.

rent, to increased agency fees, to the abuse of presents and bribes, without which nothing could be done, to the danger of sack by the janizaries on the death of the sultan, but above all to the Jews, who, being ready-money dealers, were able to make corners in all goods. "These Jews have ruined the whole trade, for they have secured the monopoly of woollens and sell at their own prices." Cavalli suggests that the law forbidding Jews to trade in Venetian bottoms should be enforced, but he admits that it is doubtful whether the mischief can be remedied, as the Jews are powerful in Constantinople—a fact of which Cavalli himself had a painful experience ending in his disgrace and recall. The story is this.¹ There was a Jew called Aaron Segura, who had goods, alum and other stuff, warehoused in Venice. This Segura was debtor of another Jew of Constantinople to the extent of two thousand six hundred sequins. The Venetian government had sequestrated Segura's goods in default of dues. The Constantinople Jew, finding his security gone, complained to the sultan through the all-powerful Jew Nasi. The complaint was forwarded to the grand vizir, who told Cavalli, the bailo, that he could not leave Constantinople till the debt was discharged. Cavalli replied that it was beneath the dignity of an envoy to stay on at the suit of a private individual, and also that it was beneath the dignity of the state to pay. The vizir warned him to beware what he was about, as the petitioner had the ear of the sultan. The bailo then said he would endeavour on his return to secure the removal of the sequestration, and offered to pay down one thousand sequins. The vizir and the bailo, after some haggling, agreed on this point. The bailo then had a farewell audience of the grand vizir, who appeared to be in a good temper, and wished him a pleasant journey; but just at this moment

¹ *Archivio di Stato*, Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Costantinopoli, July 1, 4, 10, 1567; and Senato, Secreta, Deliberazioni, Costantinopoli, Aug. 29, Sept. 6, 1567.

the sons of Aaron Segura came in, and the grand vizir told them that Cavalli had promised to secure the removal of the sequestration in Venice. This Cavalli denied; he had promised, he averred, to promote the interests of the Jew, but he could not guarantee the finding of the Venetian court that was trying the case. Thereupon the vizir jumped up in a fury, called for an usher—the truculent Cubat, who had brought to Venice the insolent demand for the cession of Cyprus—and declaring that if this matter were not settled at once it would end ill, he left the room. The Jews immediately set up a great howl, calling on Cubat to hale the orator through the streets of Stambûl to the *cadi's* court. Finally, Cavalli induced the usher to accompany him back to the embassy, and there it was agreed that he should, on his return, secure the removal of the sequestration, and if that were not done within six months, he would pay down one thousand sequins. When the vizir heard this, he said that if the Jews were satisfied he was not, and required the agreement to be drawn up and signed by Cavalli in the presence of the *cadi*, and Cavalli was obliged to consent. When the news reached Venice, the government was extremely indignant, as the whole proceeding was a breach of the capitulations. They at once elected a new ambassador and recalled both the orator, Cavalli, and the bailo, Soranzo, to stand their trial, and Soranzo was instructed to demand at once the recall of the *cocket* issued by the *cadi*. This he succeeded in obtaining, and there the matter dropped, but it helps to illustrate the difficulties and dangers which surrounded a Venetian envoy at Constantinople.

Another point which required the constant attention of the bailo was the supply of corn for the city of Venice. After the disastrous battles of Curzola and Sapienza Venice had learned that with war on the mainland and defeat at sea she was exposed to the most serious danger inherent in her otherwise all but impregnable position—the danger of starvation by

blockade. It therefore became one of the maxims of her government that the state must always keep her public granaries full. Her own mainland territory did not furnish grain enough. She had to rely on Apulia and the great plains of Asia Minor, Thessaly, and the Black Sea. But Apulia was too decidedly under the influence of Spain, the European power most dreaded by Venice; the Republic, therefore, tended more and more to trust to Turkey for her grain supply. In discussing the possibilities of expanding Venetian commerce with Turkey, Domenico Trevisan (1554)¹ points out that the corn trade might be made profitable to Venetian merchants; but he adds, with a high sense of patriotic duty and a sound appreciation of economic principles, that "such gains ought never to be desired by any man, on the double ground that to raise the price of food-stuff is to injure the poor and to injure the states." This is in accordance with the fundamental economic doctrines of the state of Venice, which, though the most highly protected among the states of Italy, yet refused even for war purposes to tax food-stuff.² But the *penuria annoniarum*, the *necessitas bladi* in which Venice found herself, was well known to the Turk, who used it either as a source of gain—both Rustan Pasha and the sultana mother made corners in corn and pressed offers on Venice—or as a threat to squeeze the Republic into concessions. The bailos frequently received orders from the home government to make large contracts for corn. But, as a rule, they were opposed to this policy, as giving to the Turk too open an indication of their deficiency. They suggested, and the government adopted the suggestion, that it would be wiser to secure the inflow of corn through private enterprise by letting it be known that Venice offered a permanent market and a fixed price.³ Barbaro even endeavoured to persuade the

¹ Albèri, *op. cit.* iii. 183.

² See Malipiero, *Annali Veneti*, *op. cit.* part i. p. 13.

³ Albèri, *op. cit.* iii. 183.

28 VENETIAN DIPLOMACY AT THE PORTE

Turks that Venice was independent of them in the matter of corn, for on one occasion, when the Turk was trying his usual trick of threatening to withhold grain, the bailo said that the result of such a policy was that Venice had taken to reclaiming her own marsh lands, and was now, or soon would be, in a position to feed herself¹; "at which," as he says, "the pasha opened his ears very wide." Among the remaining duties of a Venetian bailo in his consular capacity was the liberation of Christian slaves. This could easily be effected on payment of a sum varying from fifteen to twenty ducats;² and he was further required to protect the fathers of the Holy Sepulchre.³

To turn now to the judicial side of the bailo's functions. The bailo's court was the court for all Venetians and for most Christian residents in Constantinople. Matteo Zane justly remarks⁴ in 1594 that "the bailo of your serenity enjoys a very honourable jurisdiction; for he judges Venetians in civil and criminal cases alike, while all the other nationalities, even the French, with a few exceptions who seek the French embassy, come before him in their civil suits. To this wide jurisdiction the Turks raise not the smallest objection; indeed, they of their own accord send before him all cases which in any way belong to his jurisdiction. His civil jurisdiction is established on the capitulations, the criminal is recognized by user." If a Turk sued a Venetian, the case was tried by the bailo; if, on the other hand, a Venetian sued a Turk, the case was heard by the *cadi*, but the bailo's dragoman was always present. Suits between Venetians, of course, came before the bailo. By the capitulations the bailo could call on the governor of Pera for his arm to enforce the sentence or for the

¹ Albèri, *op. cit.* iii. 314.

² Albèri, *op. cit.* iii. 180.

³ Yriarte, *La Vie d'un Patricien de Venise* (Paris: Rothschild), s.d. p. 143.

⁴ Albèri, *op. cit.* ix. 443.

custody of prisoners, as there was no prison in the embassy. The surrender of non-Venetian residents to the Bailo's court was voluntary but usual; indeed, the only alternative was the Turkish courts, which all foreigners would naturally avoid. We have the case of the English ambassador, Barton, coming into the bailo's court at the suit of Charles Helman,¹ and the case of Sir Thomas Glover, English ambassador, sending for trial before the bailo, on criminal charges, the apostate friar Fra Vincenzo Marini, of Madaloni, who was first engaged as preacher at the British embassy and eventually caused outrageous scandals.² Here again, with a view to seeing how the court worked, we may be allowed to quote the report of a case where the envoy, Giovanni Moro, was called upon to use his court for the protection of a Venetian merchant. The case occurred in 1588,³ and though inconclusive, owing to the flight of the prisoner, is instructive, and throws a curious light on the manners and customs of the Perotes in the sixteenth century. Giovanni Moro wrote to the doge and senate to say that:

"On June 24 a certain Messer Pasqualin Lion, a Venetian merchant resident in Constantinople, lodged a complaint with the bailo that in the bazaar of Galata he had been set upon and thrashed by a janizary and some janizary cadets, called *azamoglani*; they had first insulted and then hustled him, and on his retaliating one of the aggressors drew a knife, while another fetched him a blow with a leaden belt buckle. Messer Pasqualin now called on the bailo to secure the arrest of his assailants. The bailo, Moro, at once sent the dragoman *grande* to demand the surrender of the accused, but was met by all sorts of subterfuges on the part of the authorities, and it was only

¹ *Archivio di Stato*, Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Costantinopoli, June 20, 1594.

² *Ibid.* May 28, 1611.

³ *Ibid.* Aug. 22, 1588.

after using strong language to the grand vizir himself that a janizary and a young azamoglan were sent to the Venetian embassy to be examined. The bailo elicited that fact that neither of these men was the aggressor, but that both had seen and heard a Christian talking to another janizary named Hassan—at present in asylum in the gardens of the captain of the janizaries—and offering him a bribe to thrash the merchant Pasqualin. The bailo inquired whether the witnesses could identify this Christian, and on their saying 'Yes,' the whole embassy staff and household were paraded, and each of the witnesses independently and separately picked out Francesco da Feltre, servant to Messer Cristoforo Brutti, an Italian in the service of that great personage the Beglierbey of Greece. On hearing this the bailo ordered Francesco to consider himself consigned to the embassy.

"Four days later the janizary Hassan, having been unearthed from his captain's garden, was brought before the bailo. He at once confessed—knowing that he would not be punished and caring not a jot for quarrels among Giaours—that a year ago Brutti himself had engaged him to thrash Lion, assuring him that Lion was merely a merchant's agent, a fellow of no importance, and that he might safely give it him, which was done; but further, only a few days ago Francesco, Brutti's servant, had sought him out again and had promised him, in Brutti's name, a scarlet cloth cloak if he would repeat the operation. Hassan consented, and made arrangements with some of the cadet janizaries, who, he said, were the actual assailants, for at the last moment he had found out that Messer Lion was a merchant of weight and under the protection of the bailo, and was afraid to assault him. He had not received the scarlet cloak, but the cadets had got something for the job.

"At the close of Hassan's evidence the bailo ordered the arrest of Francesco, and as there was no prison in the embassy, he sent the accused, under escort of

the embassy janizaries, down to the prison of the Governor of Pera, upon whom, under the capitulations, he had a right to call for assistance when required. The bailo apparently made no effort to secure punishment of the Turks, the principal aggressors, but confined his attention to the two Christian instigators, Brutti and his servant Francesco. But Brutti was the beglierbey's man, and at once had recourse to his patron, begging him to demand the release of Francesco as being indirectly of his household. The beglierbey twice sent his majordomo down to the Governor of Pera to demand the person of Francesco; but the governor replied that as he had received the prisoner from the bailo, he could hand him over to no one but the bailo or his accredited agent. Moro meanwhile continued to hear evidence in the case. The man who acted as interpreter between Francesco and Hassan was found and examined, and though he denied all knowledge of the affair, it was noticed that while giving evidence 'both his hands and his voice trembled.' The evidence of Steffano, the dragoman *grande*, however, conclusively proved the connection between Hassan and Francesco, and the latter was brought up from the prison in Pera for examination. He admitted the first thrashing of Messer Pasqualin, for which the janizary received an asper (about a penny) from Brutti, but denied all knowledge of the second. He was remanded. On August 10 the bailo sent for the prisoner again to pass sentence on him. At the moment when Francesco was brought into the embassy the bailo was busy making up despatches, and ordered Francesco to be locked into a room. An hour later, on sending for the prisoner, it was found he had escaped through the help and connivance of the janizary attached to the embassy, who accompanied him to the house of the beglierbey, where he was safe. Moro can only remark, 'Should your serenity think it advisable to make a prison in the embassy, one hundred sequins

would cover the expense, and I strongly recommend this course.'"

Finally, among his other functions the Venetian bailo acted as postmaster for the whole diplomatic body¹ and for foreign residents in Constantinople, just as the Austrian embassy, the heir of the Venetian embassy, does nowadays. It is also clear that the European mail for Constantinople was made up in Venice and transmitted to the bailo, who distributed its contents.² This gave the bailo the opportunity to open letters of suspected persons; that he availed himself of it is proved by a despatch from Lorenzo Bernardo to the inquisitors of state under date November 30, 1591, in which Bernardo declares that he had opened letters of a certain Minorichino, a professed spy of Spain at the Porte, and as he found them in cipher he transmitted them bodily to the inquisitors.

The ordinary post left twice a month for Venice, and was taken by land to Cattaro, whence it was conveyed to Venice by the Cattaro frigate. The journey ought to have taken about a month; but the roads were dangerous, not merely from footpads, but also from officials, the Cadi of Montenegro being especially annoying. The bailo therefore, if opportunity offered, would sometimes send the post by another line, the all-sea route, or by the all-land route *viâ* Vienna,³ by means of the imperial couriers.

But besides the ordinary bi-monthly post, there was also the more frequent despatch of the embassy bags. As a favour the bailo would admit the correspondence of other embassies, and sometimes, through the interest of a colleague, the letters of private individuals; it was, however, strictly forbidden to enclose

¹ For example, the imperial ambassador, writing on June 15, 1591, says: "Just as I was closing this despatch and was about to send it, as usual, to the Venetian bailo."

² Tormene, *op. cit.* pp. 27-9.

³ Tormene, *op. cit.* p. 28, n. 1.

money or jewels or valuables which might tempt the cupidity of thieves, and lead, as had often happened, to the murder of the courier and the destruction of the bags. The whole of this point is well illustrated by the case of Henry Parvis, as stated by Sir Henry Wotton, the English ambassador at Venice, to the doge in audience.¹ "There is," said Wotton, "in this city a young Englishman called Henry Parvis. He acts as forwarding agent for goods and letters. He has correspondents in Constantinople, among them a son of Lorenzo Pencini, an honourable goldsmith of Venice. Young Pencini had occasion to send a couple of pearls to his father. He begged the English ambassador in Constantinople (Sir Thomas Glover) to enclose in his own despatches a packet of letters in which were these pearls, and to send them to Venice. I am surprised that Pencini did not apply rather to your serenity's ambassador, for he regulates the post. But your envoy has, very wisely, issued an order forbidding the despatch of pearls and jewels, so as not to jeopardize the whole mail; accordingly Pencini's son, being aware of the prohibition, applied to the English ambassador, who took the packet and promised to forward it to Venice." The English ambassador, whether aware of the contents of Parvis's letters or not, forwarded them under cover of his own to the bailo, Filippo Bon. But Bon had secret information of the existence of the pearls, and when making up the post he detained the packet containing the pearls, and wrote to his brother in Venice, saying that he held them at the disposal of the owner. When the post arrived in Venice, Lorenzo Pencini waited a few days and then asked Parvis for the pearls. He naturally denied having received them, and hence arose a lawsuit, which called for Wotton's intervention on behalf of his fellow-countryman.²

¹ *Archivio di Stato*, Collegio Secreta, Esposizioni Principi, Dec. 16, 1608.

² See *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. xi. pp. 198, 199, 214, 215, 295.

To turn to the diplomatic side of a bailo's duties, to the relations existing between the Republic and the Porte during the sixteenth century, we shall find that a bailo's position was as delicate and dangerous on these wider questions as it was in the narrower department of commercial relations. More than once a Venetian ambassador had found himself in the Seven Towers. But at the opening of the century the position of Venice at the Porte was unique among the other European powers. She alone kept permanent diplomatic agents at Constantinople; the series of French ambassadors and imperial internuncios had not yet begun. She was the greatest Christian sea-power in the Mediterranean, the only power the Turks feared and respected (for Spain had not yet been brought to the front by Charles V.); the evidences of her wealth and strength were patent to the Turk in the fleet of trading vessels which every year visited the Golden Horn. But already the first blow had been dealt to the world-position of Venice by the discovery of the Cape route to the East Indies—a discovery which changed the trade route of the world, disestablished the Mediterranean in favour of the Atlantic, and irretrievably injured the roots of Venetian commercial supremacy, and during the course of the century the process of decline was never arrested.

In 1508 came the coalition of European powers for the spoliation of the Republic. She weathered the storm, it is true; but it left her seriously damaged, and the settlement at Bologna in 1529 introduced and riveted the Spanish power in Italy, and brought Venice face to face with a standing menace to her land possessions. Then came the troubles with those Liburnian freebooters, the uskoks, whose marauding exploits against the subjects of the Austrian archduke and grand signior involved the Republic, which claimed sole supremacy in the Adriatic, and was therefore responsible for policing these waters, in endless conflict with Austrian and Turk alike. All through the

century Venice had to face the constant menace of the Turks as an expanding power. They had conquered Rhodes, and had their eye on Cyprus and Crete; they cast their glances even farther afield and dreamed of landing in Apulia, and gave each other rendezvous at "the Ripe Apple," Rome.¹ The third and fourth Turkish wars were both disastrous for Venice, leading up to the loss of Cyprus and the bitter disappointment after the victory at Lepanto, when the conduct of her allies robbed the Republic of the fruits of victory and compelled her to a peace which, as Voltaire remarked, would have induced any one to believe that Venice, not the Turk, was the defeated party.² Then came the collapse of the Armada, and the rise of England and Holland, which led to the opening of the Mediterranean to their commerce and the establishment of ambassadors at the Porte, with capitulations, and, in the case of England, with the right of the covering flag for the Dutch, and a consequent shrinkage of Venetian prestige. The Republic instructed its envoys to oppose in every way the recognition of both English and Dutch ambassadors, and to act with their colleagues, the imperial and the French ambassadors, to whom the advent of the English and the Dutch was equally repugnant. But by 1592 Lorenzo Bernardo has to report³ that "the Queen of England has been now for some time in high esteem as a sea-power. This was recognized

¹ See Albèri, *op. cit.* vi. 85: "Dovevano i Turchi esser padroni fino di Roma" (Achmet Pasha to the Secretary Jacopo Ragazzoni, April 29, 1571, before the battle of Lepanto).

² See Albèri, *op. cit.* iii. 83: "Vostra Serenità e questo illustrissimo dominio sollevan essere in molto maggior credito e riputazione che non sono al presente presso la porta ottomana, perichè vedendo i Turchi un impero tanto grande com' e quello di Carlo V armato da terra e da mare . . . temevano grandemente che aggiunte a quelle le forze da mare di quest' illustrissimo dominio, potessero far loro qualche danno. Ma si son chiariti di quest' ultima guerra" (Bernardo Navagero, 1553). He is referring to the third Turkish war, concluded in 1540, and to the inaction of the Venetian allies, the pope and the emperor.

³ See Albèri, *op. cit.* iii. 386.

when she broke the forces of Spain by the valour of Drake partly, but chiefly by the aid of the elements. The fact that England is the enemy of Spain increases this regard, and as the two nations are neighbours at no point, nothing can arise to disturb their amity, which is fostered by a trade bringing profit to both. The English ambassador¹ is constantly employing evil offices to the injury of Christendom, urging the Turk to send out his fleet; but as this is an expensive business, let us trust in God that the ambassador will find it too difficult."

In the midst of this general situation, then, the Venetian envoy was called upon to steer his perilous course. He was expected to preserve the peace, to persuade the Turk that the balance of sea-power in the Mediterranean as between the Crescent and the Cross, as between Turkey and Spain, lay with Venice, to prove to the Turk that the Republic could rely on the support of Europe, and while preventing the sultan from thinking that she would join a Christian coalition against him, yet to convince him that she could do so if she chose. To support him in this delicate mission the bailo had little that was solid at his back. The Turkish wars had lowered the prestige of the Venetian fleet, and, worse still, had demonstrated the fact of Venetian isolation, had taught the Turk that Europe would not support Venice. When the envoy urged that though the Republic desired to maintain peace with the Porte, yet, if forced to war, "it always lay in her power to conclude an offensive alliance with the Christian powers," the grand vizir replied that he "knew quite well how little Venice was loved by the rest of Europe, and how little ground she had for relying on assistance from the powers."² Such was the fatal result of

¹ Edward Barton. See *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. ix.

² Albèri, *op. cit.* vi. 85, Achmet Pasha to the Secretary Ragazzoni, 1571. Marin Cavalli, in 1560, reports (Albèri, iii. 286) in the same sense, though he is there referring to the action of Andrea Doria on September 28, 1538, before Prevesa, when he withdrew the imperial, papal, and Maltese galleys, leaving Venice alone.

Spanish policy, accentuated after the victory of Lepanto. When the Turk threatened to send out his fleet and talked ominously of taking "nostra isola"¹ Crete, the bailo could only urge that a war with Venice would seriously affect the sultan's revenue by the loss of custom dues, and that was an argument that lost its weight with the decline of Venetian commerce. The bailos are all agreed that their sole weapons were, first, the maintenance of Venetian prestige, the *concetto* in which Venice was held; that no effort, no expense, no sacrifice, was too great if directed to that end, and they urge their government to moderate their expressions of "indissoluble friendship," and to instruct their envoys to hold their heads high in face of Turkish insolence or injustice; and, secondly, the threat of an alliance with Spain. And here lay the greatest difficulty in the bailo's task; for if he succeeded in persuading the Turk that such an alliance was imminent, he ran the risk of precipitating a declaration of war, and of being himself sent to the Seven Towers, while, on the other hand, a report of his conduct sent home to his government might waken suspicion that he was in Spanish pay. Indeed, so rife was suspicion of Spanish gold that this very fate overtook not only a Venetian bailo, but also an English ambassador, Sir Thomas Glover, who was recalled on the charge of being "more a minister of Spain than of England," though he successfully cleared himself.² Not so poor Hieronimo Lippomano, who, after a diplomatic career of great brilliancy, ending with the bailage of Constantinople, was suddenly arrested in 1592 and sent home in irons, and was either drowned or committed suicide when the ship was entering the port of Lido.³

We have seen how prominent was the position which the Venetian ambassador enjoyed at Constantinople at the opening of the sixteenth century—a position

¹ Albèri, *op. cit.* vi. 65.

² See *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. xii. pp. 238-52.

³ Tormene, *op. cit. passim*.

dependent, of course, on the prestige of the nation he represented. The prestige of Venice, owing to a combination of causes, was steadily on the wane during this century. Venice had never at any time in her career desired war with the Turk—her aim had always been to trade with him, not to fight him; but the only way to prevent a war with the sultan was to convince him that if Venice did strike she could strike forcibly. The conduct of Europe towards the Republic soon taught the Turk that Venice would not find efficient support. She was ably represented throughout her declining years; her ambassadors show no lack of dexterity or of courage; but the fact that they had to fall back on the hollow principle of the *conchetto* shows us clearly that by the close of the sixteenth century the great days of Venetian diplomacy at the Sublime Porte were already past.

The Index Librorum Prohibitorum and the Censorship of the Venetian Press

THE Venetian printing press, thanks to the excellence of its early issues, but more still to its extraordinary activity, acquired soon after the introduction of printing a leading position, not merely in Italy, but also in Europe. There can be no doubt that during the last years of the fifteenth and the opening years of the sixteenth centuries the press of Venice was the most prominent press in the world. The book trade in Venice formed an important branch of Venetian industry which soon attracted the attention of the government. It also attracted the attention of the Church when the spread of Lutheran doctrines made Rome anxious to secure a thorough supervision of the printing press and of the book trade. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the whole question of state and of ecclesiastical censorship of the press assuming a very definite and lively character at Venice, and we are able to trace the development of the ecclesiastical attack on the freedom of the press, and the efforts of the state to control the press without injuring the book trade.

The chief weapon in the hands of the Church was, of course, the publication of "damnatory Catalogues or Indexes both prohibitory and expurgatory."¹

¹ The leading authority on the whole subject of the Index is Dr. Reusch's monumental work, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* (Bonn, Max Cohen & Sohn: 1883). His book is not polemical; his object is to trace the growth of the Index. He applies no criticism to the action of the Church in the matter, nor does he discuss the reasons why the various books on the lists were placed there. It

There is no doubt, and Zaccaria has no difficulty in proving it, that from very early times the Church of Rome claimed and exercised the right of condemning and destroying books which it considered pernicious.¹ But as long as books remained in manuscript the danger of their hurtful influence was not immense, their circulation was limited, their number not unmanageable. It was the discovery of the art of printing which brought the whole question of literary censorship to an acute state. By the invention of the printing press one man and one man's opinions became multiplied a thousandfold; there was practically no limit to the diffusion of new doctrines; all barriers previously imposed by circumstances were swept away. It was no longer a question of seizing and burning some comparatively few manuscripts, and of confining or of slaying their author; an edition of a thousand copies placed the author beyond the power of death and of fire to silence him. By the discovery of

would have been impossible to do so authoritatively, for it is not the practice of the Congregation of the Index to publish its deliberations, nor is the author heard in defence of his work; there is, in short, an examination, but not a trial, of suspected books. The more important critical studies upon the Index which precede Reusch's book, begin in the seventeenth century, when Gretser published his *De jure et more prohibendi expurgandi et abolendi libros hæreticos et noxios* at Ingolstadt in 1603. Gretser was followed, in 1653, by Theophilus Raynaud, whose *Erotemata de malis ac bonis libris* was published at Lyons. Both Gretser and Raynaud were Jesuits, and apologists for the Index. On the other side Daniel Franck published, at Leipzig in 1684, his *Disquisitio academica de papistarum Indicibus*. The eighteenth century produced the most important contribution to the discussion on the Roman side in the Jesuit Zaccaria's *Storia polemica delle proibizioni de' Libri* (Roma: 1777), and the opening of the nineteenth century furnished another remarkable work, the Rev. Joseph Mendham's *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome exhibited in an Account of her Damnatory Catalogues or Indexes both Prohibitory and Expurgatory* (London: 1826).

¹ E.g. Pope John XXII. (1316-34), by a constitution, condemned Marsilio of Padua's *Defensor Pacis* on the ground that it contained *propositiones damnabiles*, which are quoted, and Marsilio's condemnation in 1327 was followed by that of Eckart in 1329.

printing the world—lay and ecclesiastical alike—was brought face to face with a problem which it has not yet succeeded in solving, the problem of how to deal with the press and its output: Is the press to enjoy absolute freedom at the risk of flooding the world with injurious, dangerous, and corrupt literature? And if not, if a censorship of the press is necessary, how is that censorship to be applied so as not to stifle all advance of opinion? for the official definition of injurious, dangerous, and corrupt will always be up to the level of the day, but never in advance of it.

When we come to deal with the history of the Roman Index of prohibited books, we shall see that the Church became alive to this difficulty very early in the history of the press. Bishop Franco, of Treviso, by a constitution dated 1491—that is, twenty-two years after the appearance of the first printed book in Venice—condemned to the flames Roselli's *Monarchia* and Pico della Mirandola's *Theses*, and only thirty-seven years after the introduction of printing into Italy, Alexander VI. posed the whole question in the preamble to the Bull *Inter Multiplices*, published in 1501, where he declared that "sicut ars impressoria litterarum utilissima habetur ad faciliorem multiplicationem librorum probatorum et utilium, ita plurimum damnorum foret si illius artifices ea arte perverse uterentur." The Church was the first to express doubts as to the undiluted benefits of the press; no temporal sovereign seems at that time to have been aware that in the new art lay a possible danger to all constituted powers. We shall have occasion to notice, however, that when temporal princes did become alive to this fact, they preceded the Church in active measures for gagging the press.

Dr. Johnson, in his *Life of Milton*, has put the problem in a vigorous and compact form. In dealing with the question of a free press, he says: "The danger of such unbounded liberty, and the danger of bounding it, have produced a problem in the science

of government which human understanding seems hitherto unable to solve. If nothing may be published but what civil authorities shall have previously approved, power must always be the standard of truth; if every dreamer of innovations may propagate his projects, there can be no settlement; if every murmurer at government may diffuse discontent, there can be no peace; if every sceptic in theology may teach his follies, there can be no religion. The remedy against these evils is to punish the authors, for it is yet allowed that every society may punish, though not prevent, the publication of opinions which that society shall think pernicious; but this punishment, though it may crush the author, promotes the book; and it seems not more reasonable to leave the rights of printing unrestrained, because writers may be afterwards censured, than it would be to sleep with doors unbolted, because by our laws we can hang a thief." In this passage Johnson, while stating the problem, lays bare three objections to the restriction of opinion: first, that it checks intellectual progress, for power becomes the standard of truth; secondly, that the attempted suppression of a book encourages its circulation, for, as Bacon observes, "a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out"; there would be no effort made to suppress books unless they contained some germ of sense and truth which renders them dangerous to established opinion; and thirdly, that punishment is impotent to prevent: the dread of the gallows does not dispense us from the need for bolts. Johnson was dealing with the problem from his own high conservative point of view, and, though loyal to his conceptions, he does not approach a solution of the difficulty. Milton's attitude has more of faith in it. "Give me liberty," he says, "to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience above all liberties; . . . though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the

field we do injuriously by licencing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple. Who ever knew truth put to the worse in fair and open encounter? Who knows not that truth is strong next to the Almighty? She needs no policies, no stratagems, no licencings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and defences that error uses against her power."

Here we have the two points of view stated by Johnson and by Milton. The civilized world has never yet made what it would still consider a rash committal of itself to the untried ocean of Milton's policy; it has hitherto attempted, with more or less success, to stem the tide of books, to confine the current within channels of its own devising; it has hanged many thieves, but still dreads that it may be robbed. In England we have abandoned the attempt at a preventive censorship and confined ourselves to a punitive censorship. The law defines what is seditious, obscene, or blasphemous, and the author and printer publish at their own risk.

We must look a little closer at the way in which the world has hitherto conducted this business of her press censorship. Three kinds of censorship over the press have been attempted since the invention of printing—religious, literary, and moral censorship. This last kind may be divided into censorship of public or political morals, and censorship of private morals, or morals in their restricted sense.

The literary censorship we may dismiss very briefly. It has been put into operation rarely in the world's history. Venice affords the most striking and perhaps the earliest examples of such a supervision of the press, when the Senate in 1503 appointed Marcus Musurus censor of all Greek publications,¹ and when the Council of Ten, on January 31, 1516, issued a general order that no one should print any work in

¹ Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique* (Paris, Le Roux: 1885), vol. i. cxii. p. 140.

humanity until it had been examined, in order to put an end to the *infamia della città*.¹ The Republic always showed itself solicitous for the good repute of Venetian editions, and deeply resented Gaspar Scioppius' caustic strictures on the Ciceroes published at Venice, which he declared fit only for the flames. But the creation of a literary censor did not save the Venetian press from steady decline.

The second and third kinds of censorship, the religious or dogmatic censorship and the moral censorship, are far more important, and have occupied a much larger space in the history of the press. The moral censorship we have divided into two kinds—supervision of public and supervision of private morals; and these three censorships, religious, political, and moral, fall into two groups, which it is as well to keep quite distinct from one another, a distinction warmly advocated by Daniele Barbaro, coadjutor of Aquileia at the Council of Trent. In the first group we have religious and political censorship, where the matter to be dealt with and examined is opinion, doctrine, ideas. In the second group is the moral censorship, where the matter to be dealt with is impure and corrupting literature. The advocates of censorship urge that they are protecting the delicate from food poisonous, in one case to the intellectual man, in the other to the moral man—poisons which the censors themselves, however, must have swallowed. The original formulæ in general use covered all three censorships. In the case of the Church, when the Index had been thoroughly established, the formula ran, “*Contra alla fede cattolica, contra ai principi, contra ai buoni costumi*”; in the Star Chamber decree of 1637 it runs, “*Contrary to Christian faith and the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; against the state or government, contrary*

¹ Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press* (London, Nimmo: 1891), p. 65; *Archivio di Stato*, Consig. x. Misti, xxxix. c. 39, by which the censorship was entrusted to Andrea Navagero.

to good life or good manners"; but it is certain that the application of the censorship varied much—now it was applied to ecclesiastical dogma, now to politics. The censorship of the Roman Church began by being occupied chiefly with dogma, and has continued to be largely directed to that point. So much so is this the case that in the Bull *Inter Multiplices*, already quoted, neither political nor moral censorship is mentioned, the scope of the powers conferred is "*ne quid imprimumatur quod orthodoxæ fidei contrarium, impium ac scandalosum existat*"; and of the ten rules of the Council of Trent only one, the seventh, deals with impure literature, and not one with the question of sedition; in fact, the Roman censorship of books was originally directed to the suppression of heresy, and to nothing else. Daniele Barbaro told the Council of Trent that it was absurd to condemn equally a work *juvenilis licentiæ* and a work which contained dogmatical errors.¹ It is only comparatively late in the development of the Index that obscenity is taken into serious consideration; and the number of works of this nature on the Index is quite small in proportion to the long list of books condemned for their heretical tendencies. On the other hand, in Venice, Spain, France, and England, when the government exercised a censorship of the press on its own account, and not merely as the secular arm of the Church, that censorship was chiefly directed to the political movement of the press, and to the suppression of all criticism of existing institutions. In Venice as early as 1515 we find examples of political censorship. Marino Sanudo, when compiling his history of the descent of Charles VIII. upon Italy, asked for access to state documents. The Ten granted the request as regarded all state papers two years old and upwards, but with the proviso that Sanudo should not publish his work without submitting it to the Chiefs of the Ten. In the same year

¹ Sarpi, *Hist. Con. Trid.* vi. 5.

Andrea Mocenigo, who was engaged on a history of the wars of the League of Cambray, secured a similar permission in the interests of truth, which *in hystoriis est par potissima*, as the Ten declared; but they required the submission of the book to their own examination before they allowed it to be published. It is pretty certain that if the Church would not allow the publication of matter hostile to its dogma, the State would not suffer the publication of matter derogatory to its reputation; the State would have suppressed hostile truths as well as hostile falsehoods. In fact, the power which wielded the censorship was inevitably tempted to use it selfishly, and to justify Johnson in declaring that, in all cases where official censorship exists, power must be the standard of truth. In neither of these cases of censorship by the Church, and of censorship by the State, did the moral supervision of the press play a conspicuous part at first. We shall return to this kind of censorship presently; but before doing so we must consider for a moment some of the arguments which have been urged for and against a free press in matters religious and political, or, in other words, for and against a censorship of opinion.

This is the ground upon which Bacon and Milton are met by Dr. Johnson. Johnson does not contemplate the question of morals; it is only on the subject of political and religious opinions that he would like to see a censorship enforced. Various arguments have from time to time been urged against such a censorship of opinion. In the first place, there is a great and almost irresistible temptation for a constituted body to apply its official censorship solely from its own point of view. If the Church itself or the State itself is left to decide what may be contrary to the faith or contrary to good government, they are certain to decide by the standard of faith as it at present exists, and of government as it is at present constituted, and to condemn any criticism of the established order. Any

innovation or movement will seem noxious: *omne ignotum pro nocuo*, is apt to become the maxim of established classes. The state censor, knowing the mind of his employer, and also feeling that he is on the safe ground of the recognized and approved, will veto any proposals of change. His major premiss tends to become as rigid and as clear as that enunciated by Lord Braxfield when trying Muir, in 1793. "Now this is the question for consideration," he said: "is the panel guilty of sedition or is he not? Now before this can be answered, two things must be attended to that require no proof: first, that the British constitution is the best that ever was since the creation of the world, and it is not possible to make it better." If the official censor is not of this way of thinking, he is no longer a good servant of the State or of the Church, but himself and his opinions are rather a fit subject for examination. Such a censorship as this means the destruction of all movement of ideas, of all novelty, of all originality, therefore of all improvement; it presupposes that we have reached perfection, and that finality which Johnson and Lord Braxfield desired; it is suited to the millennium, but not to our current centuries. Moreover, it implies stagnation, for, as Bacon remarked, "all books so authorized are but the language of the time"; a licenser's very office and commission enjoin him to let pass nothing but what is vulgarly received already. So true is this that the Index contains a large number of epoch-making works, which it is difficult for common sense to consider harmful, and of books, like the *Religio Medici*, which have proved the stay and solace of many a good man. Dr. Johnson's objections that without such a censorship there can be no settlement, there can be no peace, there can be no religion, are no doubt true had he qualified religion by the epithets dogmatic or established; but can we expect any of these blessings? Is not the doctor sighing for death, not for life? What peace, what settlement is there in any living body?

We ourselves live only by the destruction and reconstruction of our tissue. Milton, in his second defence, seems not to have been averse from a competent censorship of opinion. "I wrote my *Areopagitica*," he says, "in order to deliver the press from the restraints with which it was encumbered, that the power of determining what was true and what was false, what ought to be published and what suppressed, might no longer be entrusted to a few illiterate and illiberal individuals who refused their sanction to any work which contained views or sentiments at all above the level of vulgar superstition." But the sacrifices required by an adequate state censorship are too great; that the best spirits of every age should be exhausted in the examination of other people's work, and not in the production of their own, is more than any nation could be called upon to endure. And again, the adequate state censors must, *ex hypothesi*, be wiser than their age, and this they cannot be without being also to a certain extent critical, innovators, revolutionary, and antagonistic to the existing order; the hope of the future cannot lie in the past nor rest in the present.

Another objection to state censorship of opinion was indicated, though not strongly enforced, by Paolo Sarpi: if you claim to examine every book which is a candidate for the press, you make yourself responsible in a degree for all books which are allowed to issue from the press; you give them, as it were, a clean bill of health. Sarpi warns the Venetian government that it is "veramente gran cosa pigliar sopra se, et farsi approbatore di tutti i libri che si stampano in Venetia."¹ For the state censorship implied an *imprimatur*, which, in a measure, made the state share in every opinion contained in the books which it permitted to be printed; the readers would argue,

¹ Cecchetti, *La Rep. di Ven. e la Corte di Roma* (Venezia, Naratovitch: 1874), vol. ii. p. 235. Consulta of Fra Paolo on the *regolazione delle stampe*.

had the government objected to these opinions the book would have been suppressed. It is not possible to predict how books will "demean themselves," "for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve, as in a viol, the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them; they are as lively and as vigorously productive as those fabulous dragon's teeth, and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men"; yet at the moment of passing the censor, especially should he be a man of "hide-bound humour," not of judgment, these books may appear dead and harmless. Indeed, it is very often subsequent events which give to a book its vital activity and importance; and it was this fact which led the Church not only to exercise a censorship over candidate books, and to insist upon an *imprimatur*, but also to open an Index for the better suppression of past issues.

There are two other objections which have been urged against a state censorship of opinion. One is the practical objection that it would be almost impossible for any government office to read all works seeking an *imprimatur*; and without a most accurate examination a censorship is as useless as a frangible sanitary cordon; for none can be certain where censurable matter may lurk. The Church was very thorough in this respect. In 1599 the Carthusian Jodocus Graes wrote to Cardinal Baronius, complaining that his studies were hindered owing to the number of books of reference, lexicons and thesauruses, which were on the Index; but even the activity of the Church was not able to keep pace with the activity of the Press; and the block caused by the elaborate censorial machinery in Venice was, as the government itself admitted, most ruinous to the book trade. The other objection is raised by Bacon, and based upon the inherent curiosity of human nature which will always

make people anxious to know what there is in a prohibited book ; " the punishing of wits enhances their authority, and a forbidden writing is thought to be a spark of truth " ; and Johnson admits the same when he allows that punishment, though it may crush the author, will promote the book. Both remarks seem to show that mankind is deeply sceptical about the *bona fides* of its literary censors on matters of opinion.

The conclusion to which many are drawn is, that such a censorship is neither possible nor desirable. No doubt the finality of Dr. Johnson and Lord Braxfield is a consummation to be desired, but that we have attained it is contradicted by the experience of every day ; nor is it attainable as long as men's minds and actions remain imperfect, and therefore susceptible of improvement. Milton sums up in these words : " Seeing therefore that those books, and those in great abundance, which are likeliest to taint both life and doctrine, cannot be suppressed without the fall of learning . . . and evil doctrine not with books can be propagated, except a teacher guide, which he might do also without writing, I am not able to unfold how this enterprise of licensing can be exempt from the number of vain and impossible attempts." By such a censorship of opinion we are far from securing the permanence and purity of doctrine. And we run the risk of playing " the nursing mother to sects, but the stepdame to truth." History shows that in spite of the most rigorous censorship, backed by the dungeon and the stake, opinion has refused to remain hide-bound. It was surely wiser to act upon the faith that was in Milton, believing that truth never yet was worsted in a free and open encounter, but that falsehood may obtain a specious triumph through an embittered and injudicious persecution.

We come now to the last kind of censorship, the censorship of private morals. There is no longer here a question of protecting the intellectual side of man from dangerous doctrine, but of guarding his moral

being from corruption by impure literature. It is upon this point that we are most exercised in England just now. We are more anxious about moral than about speculative sanity, probably because the moral nature is nearer to action than the speculative nature ; and we consider impure literature as a kind of contagious moral disease ; censorship of the press has almost come to mean for us moral censorship. The Church, in the recent additions to her Index, shows the same tendency to lay more stress on the moral censorship than she has hitherto done. But when the Church opened her Index, and when secular governments first employed a state censorship of the press, it was not morals but dogma and politics which chiefly engaged the attention of churchmen and statesmen. Neither Bacon nor Johnson, in the passages referred to, touches upon this view of censorship. Milton has expressed his opinions in the *Areopagitica*, and they are no more favourable to licensing in the region of morals than in the region of opinion. He urges that it is not so much books that corrupt us as that we are corrupt ourselves ; “they are not skilful considerers of human things who imagine to remove sin by removing the matter of sin. . . . Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewel left : ye cannot bereave him of his covetousness. Banish all objects of lust ; shut up all youth into the severest discipline that can be exercised in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaste that come not thither so ; we have minds that can wander beyond all limit of satiety.” In short, it is little use expurgating books till we have purged men’s minds ; and when that is done, there will be no need for damnatory catalogues, whether prohibitory or expurgatory ; for the purged mind is the free mind, and dreads not corruption. Moreover, books are not the sole sources of corruption ; “evil manners are learned perfectly without books a thousand other ways that cannot be stopt. If we think to regulate printing thereby to rectify manners, we must regulate all

recreation and pastimes, all that is delightful to man. The windows and balconies also must be thought on, there are shrewd books with dangerous frontispieces set for sale, who shall prohibit them? shall twenty licensers?" So long as human nature is imperfect, it will demand impure literature; and so long as there is a demand, there will be a supply, if not from London, yet from "Londra," "Benares," "Cosmopoli"; repressive laws on this subject in Venice had the effect of creating a large clandestine press; and in spite of every effort, no government succeeded in suppressing the Pierre Marteau editions. The appetite for loose literature will not be stamped out by any licensing laws; to attempt to do so is to emulate "that gallant man who thought to impound the crows by shutting the park-gate." To this argument of Milton we may add, as worthy of attention, the frank opinion expressed by Paolo Paruta, Venetian ambassador to the pope. In the year 1593, when discussing the question of the Index with Clement VIII., "You cannot make the world perfect," he said, "nor can you hope that by the prohibition of one kind of literature, which is neither fruitful nor edifying to a Christian life, all men will be led to a study of the Scriptures; nay, the time spent over bad books may be worse spent over worse actions."¹ Further, owing to the inherent curiosity and imperfection of humanity, there is great danger that the Index may be merely acting as did the editor of Byron's *Martial*, by furnishing the very persons for whose protection the Index is devised with a compendious account of the books they desire.

From the date of the Tridentine Index to our own day the moral censorship has been in this anomalous position, that it condemns as impure a large number of books, while leaving in the hands of schoolboys the classics, which we do our best to induce them to read. On this point the Church proved itself more consistent than secular governments. The seventh *regula* of

¹ Brown, *op. cit.* p. 138.

the Council of Trent declares that the classics on account of their beauty and elegance may be read, but they are to be kept out of the hands of boys. Paul IV. included Lucian in his Index. The Lisbon Index permitted Martial only in an expurgated form, or in the editions of the Jesuits. The private study of Ovid's *Epistles* was allowed, but schools might only use the *Epistolæ Selectæ*, printed at Tournay in 1615. On the whole, however, we may say that during the early history of the Index the Church hardly dealt with the question of loose literature, and, as far as it went, it was inclined to handle the question lightly. It was not anxious to "rake through the entrails of many a good old author." We have noted that it was ready to draw a distinction between *opera juvenilis licentiæ* and works of controversy; and the seventh *regula* of the Tridentine Index admits the principle that beauty and elegance may, to a certain extent, condone impropriety.

But it is certain, in spite of all objections to a moral censorship, that no one could desire to see his country or his home flooded with loose literature. Books, though not the sole means of corruption, are still very potent agents in that direction. It is clear that there are many books the reading of which will better no one—even admitting that "a wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet than a fool will do of sacred Scripture"—and many others that are too strong meat for "queasy stomachs." Some sort of moral censorship of the press is necessary; the question is where and how to apply it.

Milton's arguments are directed against a state censorship; he urges nothing against a paternal censorship. That the head of the family or the schoolmaster *in loco parentis* should determine what their charges may read, appears to be the natural and proper form in which that needful supervision should be applied. For, after all, the proper attitude of mind towards impure literature is a part of education, it is the duty of the parents and the schoolmasters to create

it. A grown man should know how to deal with that subject ; " what advantage is it to be a man over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only scaped the ferula to come under the fescu of an *imprimatur* ? " " We are taking away the very atmosphere of virtue by denying a free choice in the matter ; nor can we praise a cloistered and fugitive virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversaries." The fact that the corrupting power of books is a matter of temperament—that one mind may be poisoned by literature which to another would prove innocuous and dull—again suggests that the parent and the schoolmaster are the proper censors of morals in literature, for it is their special duty to observe temperaments, whereas no one could expect the state to take into consideration all the various compositions of its subjects' minds. It seems, then, that moral censorship of the press is necessary, but that it is properly applied in youth during the period of education, and best exercised by the head of the family or the schoolmaster, the danger to avoid being not so much that grown-up people should become corrupt, but that the young man should be corrupted before he knows it, without perceiving all its significance, and be driven when too late to repeat Leopardi's bitter cry :

Qual fallo mai, qual sì nefando eccesso
 Macchiòmmi anzi il natale, onde sì torvo
 Il ciel me fosse e di fortuna il volto.

To quit the various kinds of censorship and to come to the ways in which the censorship has been applied. We can distinguish two methods. The first and oldest proceeded mainly by means of an Index—that is, by the categorical prohibition of certain specified books ; the second proceeded by defining all the qualities which render a book liable to suppression, but did not attempt to indicate the specific offenders. The first method was that adopted by the Church of Rome, and by states such as Venice and Spain, though in a much

less active degree. In this case the definition of the qualities which rendered a book liable to be placed on the Index was so vague that it might be stretched to cover the whole energies of the printing press; and, as a matter of fact, it left the question of whether a book should be suppressed or not entirely to the discretion of the censor for the time being. The papal Bulls and Briefs, which promulgated and introduced the various Indices, did little to define, with accuracy, the Indexable qualities of books; they repeated, for the most part, the formulæ against heresy, but little else. The ten *regulæ* of the Council of Trent did something towards a definition, and still more the Instruction of Clement VIII.; but in both cases more attention was paid to informing censors how they should act than to defining what is heresy; virtually it remained with the censor to say whether a book should, or should not, be placed upon the Index, and an author could never be quite certain of the fate in store for his work. This procedure by Index implied the appointment of an official censor, and entailed all the objections which have been pointed out above. So strongly did Paolo Sarpi feel the difficulty of this undefined position of an official censor, that he urged the government of Venice to frame a list of rules and definitions to guide the conduct of the secretary to the Senate, who was at that time charged with the state revision of books. Sarpi desired that this important question of what was and what was not censurable should not be left to the varying opinion of individuals, but that the state censor "might walk securely, having the light of public wisdom to guide his feet."¹

Venice never formulated these rules; but the recommendation of Fra Paolo brings us to the second method of censorial procedure by definition of censurable qualities alone without an Index, a purely preventive, not a repressive, censorship. The law defines what qualities in a book render it liable to

¹ Sarpi, *Opere Discorso sopra le Stampe*, Brown, *op. cit.* pp. 165-71.

suppression; but it takes no steps to examine the issues from the press in search for those qualities. There is no state-appointed censor, and public opinion is left to take his place, for it is open to any one who feels aggrieved by the publication of a work to cite it, and the trial will show whether it contains the qualities declared censurable by law. In one way this method is good; Philip II. of Spain, writing to de Luna, his ambassador at Trent, says truly that books are not equally dangerous at all times and in all places; by erecting public opinion as the censor of the press, it is intended to secure that the law shall be put in motion where danger threatens the community, where the public conscience is alive and sensitive; it leaves it to the national conscience to indicate the books which, at any given time, it considers to be *libri contagiosi*, infectious books. It is hoped that the law and national feeling will work together automatically to suppress whatever is felt to be inimical to national growth.

The Church of Rome was not only the first to recognize the power of a free press, but she has also furnished the most striking example of a world-wide censorship of the press in the apparatus of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. It is therefore of interest to follow the history of that censorship and of the Index from its earliest creation. The history of the Index falls into two main periods: the first dates, roughly speaking, from the introduction of printing into Italy in 1465, down to the publication of the Clementine Index in 1596; the second period covers the centuries from 1596 down to the present day. Historically speaking, the first period is by far the more instructive. In it we trace the inception of the idea, its growth and formation under Paul IV. and the Council of Trent, till it assumed its permanent shape in the pontificate of Clement VIII. This form it retained till the middle of the seventeenth century, when Alexander VIII. made some important changes in its structure; and

Benedict XIV. finally corrected, revised and re-edited it, very much in the form it now possesses.

Like much of the Church machinery previous to the Council of Trent, the censorship of books grew up in obedience to necessity—sporadically and without any headquarters or general regulations. The need for this censorship was created by two great events, the invention of printing and the beginning of the Lutheran heresy. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the earliest instances of such a supervision of the press in the home of printing, the Rhine Provinces. The earliest operation against books proceeded directly from the see of Rome, when Sixtus IV., in 1479, empowered the Rector of Cologne University to employ ecclesiastical censure against those who read, or buy, or print heretical books. That the university exercised a censorship is proved by the formula of approbation prefixed to many books which were issued between the years 1479 and 1493. Another instance of such censorial approbation appears in the devotional work *Nosce te*, printed by Jenson at Venice in 1480. The approbation is signed by the Patriarch of Venice, the Inquisitor, and three other examiners. But this approbation cannot be taken as a sign of any extended ecclesiastical censorship of books in Venice. The reason for its appearance in the *Nosce te* is the fact that the author Johannes was a Carthusian, and the superiors of the various Orders exercised a supervision over the works issued by their own members. In the year 1486 the Archbishop of Mainz issued an order that no one in his province might print translations or other works without the approbation of a censor named by him. The art of printing appeared in Italy much later than in Germany, though when it did take root it received a most remarkable development in that country. Accordingly we find that the first censorial order relating to books in Italy is dated considerably later than the orders of Cologne and Mainz. In 1491 Nicolò Franco, Bishop of Treviso

and Papal Legate for Venice, published a constitution providing that no one, under penalty of excommunication, *latae sententiæ*—that is, incurred *ipso facto*—may print books dealing with theological topics, unless he has the permission of the ordinary or his vicar-general; and that all who possessed Antonio Roselli's *Monarchia*, or Pico della Mirandola's *Theses*, were, within fourteen days, to bring them to be burned in the cathedral of their diocese. Bishop Franco's constitution is remarkable on two grounds: first, it enunciates the principle of an *imprimatur* from the ecclesiastical authorities as necessary before a book might be printed; and secondly, it is the earliest example of an ecclesiastical order damnatory of books already published—the beginnings of a repressive censorship. The orders of Cologne and Mainz refer only to future impressions. But Bishop Franco begins the attack upon books already launched upon the world. We do not know whether this order was executed; whether any cathedral of Venetian territory saw Roselli's and Pico's speculations vanish into smoke; but it is certain that, though Roselli's work was dedicated to a Venetian doge, Francesco Foscari, the Venetian government raised no objection to the episcopal order, and that the censor succeeded in stopping the circulation of the work, for only two editions are quoted by Hain, one in 1483 and one in 1487, both anterior to the episcopal denunciation.

From the introduction of printing down to the close of the sixteenth century the action of the Church in the matter of press censorship was local. Although Sixtus IV. issued orders from Rome, they were not general orders, but applicable only to such narrow jurisdictions as that of Cologne University. The Popes had not yet acted in their capacity as heads of the universal Church. But after the opening of the sixteenth century a change took place. The popes began to take universal action in the matter of press censorship. In the year 1501 Alexander VI.

published his Bull *Inter Multiplices*, to which reference has already been made. The most remarkable points in this Bull are, first, the confirmation of the doctrine that an ecclesiastical *imprimatur* is necessary. Archbishops, especially those of Cologne, Magdeburg, Trier, and Mainz, are to see that no books are printed in their provinces without their *imprimatur*, which is to be granted gratis. Second, the censorial powers of the archbishops may be delegated to vicars-general, and to experts. Third, the scope of the censorship is confined to questions of what is *orthodoxæ fidei contrarium*; questions of public or private morality are not apparently included; the jurisdiction is to extend over corporations, universities, and colleges; the penal powers include ecclesiastical censure, destruction of books, and fines, for the enforcement of which the censors are to seek the aid of the secular arm.

The next important step in the growth of the ecclesiastical press censorship is marked by the Lateran Council. Leo X., in 1515, published his Bull *Inter Sollicitudines*, by which the machinery of the *imprimatur* was still further organized. The necessity for an *imprimatur* is enforced, but it is provided now, for the first time, that in Rome the document shall be obtained from the apostolic vicar and the *Magister sacri palatii*, the official who continued to be the responsible censor of books in the Papal States; outside Rome the Ordinary or his delegates are the proper sources of *imprimaturs*. The penalties remain, as in *Inter Multiplices*, fines and destruction of books. In Rome the pecuniary penalties are appropriated to the building fund of the Prince of the Apostles. Neither in the Bull of Alexander nor in that of Leo is there any mention of the inquisitor, who subsequently played such an important part as censor of the press. The Inquisition which then existed was the old Dominican Inquisition. The new Inquisition, devised by Caraffa, had not yet been thought of. The papal attack on Luther and Lutheran writings

became more definite in 1520, when Leo published his Bull *Exurge*, condemning as heretical forty-one propositions, and entailing excommunication, *latae sententiæ*, on all who taught or defended them. And Luther's name was added to the commination list of the *In Cæna Domini*, by Hadrian VI. in 1524.

So far, then, the Church had exercised its censorship of books, first in a vague and sporadic way, then in general action expressed in Bulls. The motive for this action had been always the dread of dogmatic infection, the spread of the Lutheran heresy, not any anxiety about the purity of the press, or the danger from seditious and subversive political teaching. As yet there was no example of an Index even in an incipient form; but we have now reached the period when such Indices began to appear.

If we omit the Imperial Edict of Worms (1521), which was directed against Luther and all his writings, and can hardly be considered as containing an Index of forbidden books, the first list which may claim that title appeared in England in the year 1526. It contained the names of eighteen books, and was soon followed, in 1529, by the second English Index, very much enlarged, and reaching to as many as eighty-five prohibitions. These English Indices, of which seven others under Henry VIII. and one under Mary followed the first two, are compiled in no particular order, and contain the names of special works only; there is nothing in them corresponding to the condemnation of whole classes of books and of authors which characterizes the Roman Indices. The proclamation of 1530 expressed the formula under which books were prohibited in England. It runs: "Contrary to the Catholic faith, contrary to the law and custom of the Holy Church, against the King, his Council, and Parliament"; thus covering two departments of censorship, the religious and the political, but making no provision for the moral censorship. The English Index of 1529 contains the phrase—curious in the

mouth of a damnatory censor—"Joannis Wicleffi viri piissimi dialogorum libri quattuor." The Clementine *Instructio*, which had not yet appeared, forbade any one to bestow honorific epithets on heretics; the English censor, however, did not scruple to admire his opponent.

The English Indices are, however, hardly to be reckoned in the real series of *Indices Librorum Prohibitorum*. That series properly begins with the Index, or more correctly Catalogue, issued in 1546 by the Theological Faculty at Louvain. The Louvain Index, and all Indices down to the first papal Index, are properly known as Catalogues, not as Indices. In construction the Louvain Catalogue is essentially different from any of its predecessors. It is the first Catalogue in which we find a division into classes. The Catalogue contained, first, a list of Latin, German, and French Bibles and New Testaments; second, an alphabetical list of German and French books prohibited. The fountain of authority in the Louvain Catalogue was the Imperial mandate which conferred upon the Faculty power to visit all libraries and book-shops, and to remove all noxious books. The Louvain Catalogue is by no means free from that carelessness in compilation which characterizes almost all the Indices down to the time of Benedict XIV. The alphabetical list is compiled upon a varying principle; sometimes the surname, sometimes the Christian name, of the author is given, sometimes only the title of the book to be condemned. The Emperor Charles V. was not satisfied with the Catalogue of the Theological Faculty, and in 1549 he ordered the whole university to draw up a new Catalogue, with a special list of works appropriate for use in schools. Both Catalogue and list were printed the following year in Latin, French, and Flemish. Here again, as in the case of the English Indices, the scope of the work is the extirpation of heresy; "pour l'extirpation," so runs the title, "des sectes et erreurs pullulez contre nostre

sainte foy catholique et les constitutions et ordonnances de nostre mere sainte eglise. Avec le Catalogue des livres reprouvey et prohibez." There is not the slightest reference to the other possible subjects of censorship, while every care is taken to suppress books which, though not heretical, yet under the cloak of true religion insinuate false views on the papacy, ceremonies, confession, Mass, and saints. This second Catalogue of Louvain presents two distinguishing features—first, the list of books approved for school use in addition to the Catalogue of general condemnations, a feature which does not appear in other Catalogues or Indices; and, second, we find here for the first time the distinction drawn between heresiarchs and heretics: all works of heresiarchs are, *ipso facto*, forbidden; while the works of heretics require examination before they are condemned to the Catalogue. The Louvain Catalogue is of great importance in the history of the ecclesiastical censorship of books, not only because it is the first of the regular series of *Indices Librorum Prohibitorum*, but also because Fernando Valdes, Inquisitor-General in Spain, published it entire in 1551, and subsequently retained it in the first Spanish Index of 1559. The Latin Catalogue of Louvain appeared in the Venetian Index, and thence passed into the Roman Indices; and in this way the Louvain Catalogue may be considered as the fountain-head of two main branches of the Index, the Spanish and the Roman.

The Spanish censorship was from the very first declared to be a state ecclesiastical department. The King of Spain always insisted upon the independence of the Spanish Index. Philip II., writing to de Luna at Trent, says Spain has her own rules and her own Index; and must on no account be placed under the general orders of the council. This independent position was always maintained, and we shall not have to consider the growth of the Spanish in dealing with the Roman Index.

A similar process of state censorship had been taking place in France contemporaneously with that which was going on in England and the Netherlands under Charles. In the year 1521 Francis I., on the invitation of the University of Paris, published a decree forbidding the Parisian booksellers to print any new Latin or French works dealing with the Christian faith without first obtaining an *imprimatur* from the Theological Faculty. This decree applied to future impressions only, and made no sort of provision for an Index. In 1542, however, the Parliament of Paris ordered the Sorbonne to draw up a Catalogue of objectionable books, and this task was accomplished in the following year, when a list of sixty-five numbers, compiled without order, was prepared. The Sorbonne Catalogue, properly so called, was not published till 1544, and was repeated three times subsequently, in 1547, 1551, and 1556. Here, again, the authority is the order of the king, *suyvant l'edict du roy*, and the scope, as always, the suppression of heresy. The Sorbonne Catalogue is divided into five heads—first, a list of Latin works by known authors, arranged alphabetically by surname; second, a list of anonymous Latin works; third, a list of French works by known authors; fourth, a list of anonymous French works; fifth, French translations of the Bible. Though the Louvain and the Sorbonne Catalogues naturally contain many names in common, yet there is no essential connection between the two; the Sorbonne Catalogue is an independent compilation. But, like the Louvain Catalogue, the Sorbonne list draws much of its interest from the fact that it was largely used in the compilation of the Venetian Catalogues, and, in consequence, helped to build up the first Pontifical Index, that of Paul IV.

England, the Netherlands, France, and Spain had all issued Catalogues of forbidden books before Italy moved in the matter. When a Catalogue did appear in Italy, it did not owe its existence to ecclesiastical

but to civil authorities, as had been the case with all its predecessors. The Senate of Lucca, no doubt prompted by the Inquisition, published in 1545 a decree commanding all Luchese subjects to burn, or to hand to their ordinary within fourteen days, all books in their possession which were named on an accompanying list. The Lucca Catalogue is drawn up in Latin, and contains the names of twenty-eight writers whose whole works are prohibited. There seems to have been a special dread of heresy in Lucca at that moment, chiefly on account of the influence of Bernard Occhino and of P. M. Vermigli, which called the attention of Rome to the Republic, and induced the Church to put pressure on the government, giving to this Luchese Catalogue a peculiar character. The Republic was alarmed at this interference from Rome, and took very strong steps to secure their own independence of action, while at the same time proving themselves good sons of the Church. But this question belongs rather to the history of the Inquisition than to the history of the Index. The Luchese Catalogue, being in a special degree the outcome of ecclesiastical initiative, shows quite as strongly as its predecessors the tendency to deal with dogma only, leaving the other departments of censorship untouched. The most important fact about the Luccan censorship is that the Republic established a civil office, *spectabile officium*, to deal with the whole question. This office was charged with the publication of all future prohibitions, and was convened at least once a week. It acted in concert with the ecclesiastical authorities no doubt, but in its origin and in its fountain of authority it was a state and not an ecclesiastical authority.

The next Catalogue of prohibited books brings us to an important point in the development of the Index. This Catalogue was published at Venice by Giovanni della Casa, Archbishop of Benevento, nuncio and papal legate in Venetian territory. Hitherto it has been

supposed that no copy of this Catalogue exists. Reusch¹ says, "von der Originalausgabe dieses Index scheint kein Exemplar mehr zu existieren." Our knowledge of it depended on a hostile edition published by Pier Paolo Vergerio on July 3, 1549, from some place in Graubünden (*in queste Alpi*), probably Poschiavo or Chiavenna. Vergerio entitled his reprint *Il Catalogo de Libri, li quali nuovamente nel nesse di Maggio nell'anno presente M.D. XLVIII. sono stati condannati scomunicati per heretici, Da Giovan della casa legato di Venetia, et d'alcuni frati*. Vergerio adds that the Catalogue was published on the papal authority, "Mandatu Pauli III.," and hence, to a certain extent, the importance which has been ascribed to this Venetian Index of 1549; in any case, the fact that della Casa was legate *a latere* gave his Catalogue a direct connection with the Holy See; and it has been pointed out that in the case of this first Venetian Index it is no longer the State, but the Church, which compiles the list; the fountain of authority is the ecclesiastical, not the civil, government. Hitherto, it is said, it had been Henry VIII., Charles V., Francis I., the King of Spain, or the Senate of Lucca which had ordered the preparation and enforcement of the prohibitions; now, in the case of the first Venetian Index, the Church assumes the lead in the person of the papal legate. This is true in a measure, but requires modification; for in the *Biblioteca Marciana*² there exists what I believe to be a copy of the original Catalogue published by della Casa in May, 1549.³ The brochure was printed in Venice by Erasmo di Vincenzo Valgrisi, and is entitled, *Catalogo di diverse opere compositioni, et libri*;

¹ *Op. cit.* vol. i. p. 205; and R. L. Poole, *Journal of Theological Studies*, Oct. 1903, vol. v. 127, who confirms the fact that no trace of this Catalogue has been found by the bibliographers. See also Putnam, *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* (New York: 1906), vol. i. 148.

² "Cose Venete, Storia Ecclesiastica," Miscellanea, 128.

³ The documents connected with it are printed *in extenso* at the end of this essay.

li quali come heretici sospetti impii, et scandalosi si dichiara|no dannati, et prohibiti in questa inclita città di Vinegia, et in tutto l' Illustrissimo dominio Vinitiano, si da|mare, come da terra. From the preface we gather that the Catalogue was compiled by the Reverendo padre Maestro Marino, a Venetian, monk of the Order of St. Francis, living in the monastery of the Minorites, inquisitor in heresy, and that he had the assistance and advice of many theologians belonging to various Orders (these were the *alcuni frati* of Vergerio's preface); and further that it was the legate, on the advice of the three lay government assessors of the Holy Office in Venice, who entrusted Fra Marino with the task; finally, the Catalogue was printed in execution of an order made by the Council of Ten. It is clear therefore that this earliest Venetian Index was in part, at least, the work of the civil government, and that it rested on no papal authority beyond what was implied by the action of a legate *a latere*. The resolution of the Council of Ten from which the Index drew its authority was passed on January 16, 1548-9, and is printed on the third page of the pamphlet. It cites an earlier proclamation issued by the Ten on July 18, 1548, in which all Venetian subjects were called upon to surrender to the three assessors all books which contain anything *contra la fede*; no penalty was to be exacted for the possession of such works, provided they were surrendered. But no list of the condemned works accompanied the proclamation, and to supply this deficiency della Casa, with the assent of the three assessors, commissioned Fra Marino and other monks to compile the present list. The Ten ordered this list to be printed, and a copy to be sent to each printer and bookseller in Venice, along with a notice as to where other copies might be purchased. The Catalogue was also to be distributed among the cities of the mainland. The principal sources of della Casa's Catalogue are the lists of Louvain and Paris, while recent trials furnished

some names which had appeared on no previous lists. The list contains the names of heretical works and of heresiarchs to the number of one hundred and forty, and displays all the carelessness and inaccuracy which Vergerio so severely castigated. The pamphlet closes with the declaration of the chancellor of legate giving the sanction to the Catalogue, which was the greater excommunication as pronounced in the bull *In Cæna Domini*. The chief interest of this the earliest Venetian Catalogue in the history of the Index lies in the fact that here for the first time we find the local inquisitor taking a part in the compilation—on the initiative of the secular power, it is true—and that it forms the link between the damnatory Catalogues of Louvain and the Sorbonne and the Papal Index of Paul IV.

Three more Catalogues remain to be noticed before we come to the first Roman Index. Vergerio is once more our source of information in the absence of the originals; but it must always be borne in mind that his is a hostile testimony, though there is no apparent reason to doubt his evidence. The most important general feature about all these Catalogues, subsequent to della Casa's, is, that they are issued by ecclesiastical, not by civil, authorities. In the year 1552 the Dominicans of Florence published a Catalogue to which Vergerio makes reference. This Catalogue is based on della Casa's, but corrects some of the many errors into which the nuncio had fallen. Vergerio takes credit to himself for enabling the Dominicans of Florence to discover and remedy these errors, though he asserts that they made *novos et valde pudendos*. Of this Florentine Catalogue we know little, and it does not appear to have been important. In 1554 the Archbishop of Milan, Arcimboldi, published his Catalogue, described by Vergerio, as usual in terms of great exaggeration, as a work "ove egli condanna et difama per heretici la maggior parte de figliuoli di Dio et membri di Cristo, i quali ne' loro scritti cercano

la riforma della chiesa cristiana." Vergerio's recension is dated "Cambridge," probably for Poschiavo. The Milanese Catalogue is compiled alphabetically, and contains five hundred numbers, sometimes names of authors, sometimes titles of books. It is therefore far more comprehensive than della Casa's list, and was largely used in compiling the first Roman Index. In the same year (1554) another Venetian Catalogue was published. It is mainly an enlargement of the Milan Catalogue, with some additional names taken from Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*. It absorbed most of its predecessors except the English lists, and included the Louvain and della Casa Catalogues almost entire; and this Venetian Catalogue served immediately as the basis for the Pauline Index. The most remarkable feature about the Venetian list of 1554 is, that its preface declares it to have been compiled and published by the Venetian Inquisition, "De commissione Tribunalis sanctissimæ Inquisitionis Venetiarum"; no mention is made of the other ecclesiastical authorities or of the civil magistrates.

The Catalogue of the Venetian Inquisition was the last Italian Catalogue. We have now reached the period when the Roman Indices begin to appear. Hitherto we have seen how the censorship proceeded first by local orders as to the supervision of the press and the necessity for an *imprimatur*, then by papal Bulls addressed *urbi et orbi*, confirming the local orders and making them universal. In the same way we have seen local catalogues of books published in various parts of Europe, applicable only to certain limited districts and jurisdictions. Now we come to the papal Indices, which, as issuing from the head of the Church, claimed to be binding on all Christendom. The two main points about the early Catalogues are, first, that they were designed almost entirely as a censorship of heretical works; and, secondly, that down to the Catalogue of Lucca they were the work of the State alone, not of ecclesiastical

ensorship. Della Casa's Venetian Catalogue is the first example of the Church acting concurrently with the State in the prohibition of books, and calling in the assistance of the inquisitor; and in the last Venetian Catalogue this new instrument seems to have absorbed the whole authority, and the Catalogue is issued by the Inquisition alone.

The appearance of the Inquisition in the censorship of books, and the fact that the headquarters of that censorship were now transferred to Rome, lead us to inquire what had been taking place in the Eternal City. Almost every European state had preceded Italy in the censorial attack upon the Lutheran heresy. It had taken long to convince the Church that her danger was real and imminent. There was one man in Rome, however, who was resolved that the Church should not remain indifferent to the progress of the new movement, but should exert all her energy to crush the heresy, Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, the Neapolitan, at that time Bishop of Chieti. It was on his initiative that Paul III., in 1542, published the Bull *Licet ab initio*, which gave a new organization to the Inquisition. Six cardinals were named inquisitors-general, with orders to attack heresy, and with powers to act independently of the ordinaries in each diocese. This was the weapon with which Caraffa hoped to fight the Lutheran schism. He desired to see the Inquisition supersede the ordinaries, whose zeal and energy he mistrusted as censors of the press; it was owing to the prevalence of his policy at Rome that we find the Inquisition coming to the front in the conduct of the censorship of books. Although the Bull *Licet ab initio* did not expressly name heretical books as the peculiar object of the inquisitors-general's attention, yet it was fully understood that their immediate function was to suppress such books, and they proved that they appreciated the scope of their duties by the publication of their Edict of 1543, which deals entirely with the question of heretical works. Caraffa's vast and

grandiose scheme for a network of inquisition embracing all Christendom, having its centre at Rome, and being thus in direct relation with the head of the Church, failed as so much of his policy failed. But in dealing with the history of the Roman Index we shall see how close a connection he succeeded in establishing between the Congregation of the Inquisition and the censorship of books.

In the year 1559 the first Roman Index appeared. Caraffa during his cardinalate, and while a member of the Congregation of the Inquisition, had been occupied with the preparation of an Index. When he ascended the throne as Paul IV. he entrusted the completion of the work to the Congregation. This Index was printed in 1557, but withdrawn. It is not certain why the edition was suppressed, but a new edition was ready in 1558, and given to the world as the first Roman Index in 1559, with the declaration that it issued from the Holy Office, and was addressed *Universa Christiana Republica*. The Index is preceded by the decree of the Holy Office imposing obedience on pain of all the penalties enumerated in the Bull *In Cæna Domini*. The Index is compiled alphabetically, but a new feature is introduced. Each letter is divided into three classes, an arrangement which occurs here for the first time, and was preserved in all Roman Indices down to the pontificate of Alexander VII. The first class contains the name of heresiarchs—that is to say, all those whose entire works are prohibited. The second class contains the names of certain writers, some of whose works are condemned as heretical or guilty *præstigosæ impietatis*; the edition of 1557 contained besides the words *aut obscenæ alicujus turpitudinis*, but these were removed from the edition of 1559. The third class contains the titles of books by unknown heretical authors. In the Pauline Index we find distinct and unmistakable censure of qualities other than heretical, such as magic, scurrility in Pasquinades, and obscenity; and the Index itself is

rich in the titles of astrological works and prophecies. The Index closed with a list of sixty-one printers, and a declaration that any works whatsoever printed by them were, *ipso facto*, prohibited. This was an attempt to apply to the book trade the principle which, when applied to authors, had produced the category of heresiarchs. The majority of these printers were Germans, but among them we find Francesco Brucchioli of Venice, and Robert Estienne of Paris. As already stated, the immediate basis of the Pauline Index is the Venetian Catalogue of 1555, which had absorbed the larger part of its predecessors; and Gesner's *Bibliotheca* furnished a considerable quantity of new names. The Pauline Index was held to be very severe, especially in its proscription of certain printers; and we shall see presently that it was found necessary to modify it. The Index contains one instance of the speed, and consequent carelessness, with which names were sometimes placed on the list of prohibitions. Among the works which the compilers of the Index had to examine was a book called *Monachopornomachia*, published under the pseudonym of *Lutii Pisæi Juvenalis, datum ex Achaia*. Its real author was Simon Lemnius, teacher in the Gymnasium at Chur, and the book is a satire on Luther the married monk; but the censors, satisfied by the title as to the real scope of the work, placed it on the Index without reading it.

The Pauline Index was not rigorously enforced, even in Rome; perhaps because the Pope did not live long enough to compel a full observance, but certainly also because it met with serious opposition. The learned found it excessively severe, and even complained that in Spain the censorship proceeded more leniently; to which the Inquisitor-General Ghislieri replied that Rome gave laws to Spain, not Spain to Rome. The Index was published by the Inquisition in Bologna, Genoa, and Venice, but received little attention. The Viceroy of Naples and the Governor of Milan, as

Spanish subjects, refused to allow it to appear within their jurisdictions, and reported on the matter to their master. Florence waited to see what the other powers would do. In Paris it was not even printed. The Pauline Index proved a failure, and on the death of the pope in 1559, the same year that the Index was issued, his successor Pius IV. deemed it advisable to order Ghislieri, the inquisitor, to prepare a *Moderatio Indicis*, which was published in 1561. The *Moderatio* affected only the general provisions of the Pauline Index. It sanctioned the use of translations from the Fathers made by heretics, on a written permission for such use being obtained from the Holy Office; and it removed from the Index books placed there only because the printer was suspect. The Council of Trent was now in its third convocation, and the question of press censorship came before it in the year 1562. The general opinion of the Council was that the Pauline Index required revision. Daniele Barbaro, coadjutor of Aquileia, expressed the real intention of the Church as regards the use of a press censorship, when he said that it was a flaw in the Pauline Index that it condemned equally and in the same way a work *juvenilis licentiæ* and a work containing heretical opinions. After much discussion, the whole question was referred to a commission of eighteen, and the Council as a body took no further charge of the matter. The Tridentine Index was ready by the end of March 1564, and was published under the title of *Index Librorum Prohibitorum cum regulis confectis per patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos, auctoritate Sanctiss. D. N. Pii IV. Pont. Max. comprobatus*. Except upon three points, the Tridentine Index is merely an amended edition of its predecessor. Those three points are, first, the abolition of the list of forbidden Bibles, and of proscribed printers; second, the introduction of the formula *donec corrigatur*, opposite certain books, implying a modified and not an absolute condemnation. The full significance of *donec corrigatur* is that the

possession and study of the work will be allowed on condition that certain obnoxious passages shall be corrected or obliterated by pen in existing editions, and in subsequent editions be removed or amended. But by far the most important feature of the Tridentine Index is the third point, the ten *regulæ*, or rules upon the subject of book censorship. The *regulæ* collected and formulated the scattered provisions of the Bulls, the Catalogues and Index which preceded them; they remain in force to this day, and form the basis upon which the ecclesiastical censorship of books proceeds; as an example, we have the prohibition of Savarese's *La Scomunica di'un idea* pronounced in 1884, which cites the second *regula* of Trent as its chapter, *opus prædamnatum ex reg. 2 Indicis Trid.*

The Index of the Council of Trent was the most important that had yet appeared. Issuing from a General Council and confirmed by the pope, it had all the authority and prestige that any ecclesiastical legislation could enjoy. It was much more widely received than the Pauline Index. Belgium, Bavaria, and Portugal officially received it. Spain, while maintaining her independent attitude, incorporated the Tridentine Index in her own. In France and in Germany only individual provincial synods declared it as binding. In Italy, which was submitting to the counter-reformation, the Tridentine Council and Index were generally acknowledged. In Venice, as yet on good terms with the Church, the government allowed the patriarch, the nuncio, and the inquisitor to frame and publish a statute for booksellers based on the rules of Trent.

But the publication of the Tridentine Index, though the most important point in the history of ecclesiastical press censorship, did not close the process of development in the Index. The Pauline Index, as we have seen, was published in the name of the Inquisition, and it was to that body that Paul IV., had he lived, would have entrusted the whole treatment of censurable books. But the Inquisition had many

other duties to attend to besides the revision of books, and Pius V. resolved to create a new Congregation, which should devote its whole energies to this subject. In 1571 the Congregation of the Index, consisting of four cardinals and nine councillors, was erected. Gregory XIII., the successor of Pius, bestowed upon the Congregation the right to exact obedience from all bishops, doctors, magistrates, booksellers, printers, and custom-house officers; and Sixtus V. empowered it to revise all Indices and Catalogues of prohibited books, past, present, and future. The most important person on the Congregation of the Index was the *Magister sacri palatii*, whom, as we have seen, Leo X. created censor of the press in Rome, conjointly with the vicar. The *Magister sacri palatii*, until quite recently, has always been a Dominican. He is *ex-officio* consultor to the Congregation of the Inquisition and to the Congregation of the Index, besides being theological adviser to his Holiness. He therefore formed a connecting link between the two Congregations, uniting them closely to the head of the Church, and his influence was naturally very great. Although the Congregation of the Index, after its creation, took its own independent place among the governmental departments of the Church, yet its origin shows how closely it was connected with the Congregation of the Inquisition. That Congregation has never lost its censorial powers, and its authority runs parallel with that of the younger Congregation. It was the Inquisition which condemned Gioberti's works in 1852.

Between the publication of the Tridentine Index by Pius IV. and the year 1590 no serious steps were taken towards a new Index at Rome. The next important epoch in the history of the Index is the action taken by Sixtus V. In the year 1588 that pope charged the Congregation of the Index to prepare a new and enlarged edition of the Tridentine Index; and this, when ready, was printed in 1590. The object

of this Sixtine Index, as expressed in the Bull which preceded it, was to amend the Index and the rules of Trent. But Sixtus died the same year, and the diffusion of his Index was at once stopped; the reason being, in all probability, that his additional *regulæ* had not the approval of the Congregation. But although the Sixtine Index never took effect, it is important in the history of the censorship, as it formed the basis of the last Index with which we have to deal—the Index of Clement VIII., published in 1596. Two points distinguish the Sixtine Index. It is the only Roman Index which contains a list of heresiarchs, compiled for the better understanding of rule ii. of the Council of Trent; this list was based upon the Spanish Index of Quiroga, and contains in all eighty-one names. Secondly, the Tridentine ten rules were expanded into twenty-two; but, as these rules were never enforced, it is not necessary to dwell upon them here. We may notice, however, that rule xv. was entirely directed against works on duelling; that rule xix. attempted to limit the impression of Bibles and liturgical works to cities where there was an inquisitor, or a university, or a censor; and rule xx. ordered that forbidden books were not to be destroyed by their owners, but surrendered to the ordinary or the inquisitor. The Sixtine Index was, in fact, the severest which had yet been proposed, and the first class contains twice as many names as there were on the first class of the Tridentine Catalogue.

When Clement VIII. came to the throne, the Congregation of the Index was commissioned to take the question of a new Index into consideration. Bellarmine, then consultor to the Congregation, was opposed to the Sixtine Index and its rules, and the Congregation determined to set these aside, and to prepare an Index of their own. In 1593 the Index was ready, and the Cardinal of Ascoli handed to the pope a printed copy. The pope, however, gave orders that the new Index should not be published, and it was not

till three years later that the Clementine Index was given to the world. Reusch is very brief upon the causes of this long delay ; but the despatches of the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Paruta, make it quite clear what was taking place at Rome. The notorious severity of the Sixtine Index had greatly alarmed the world of letters, and all those connected with the book trade. People had learned by experience how powerful the action of an Index could be. The centres of the book business, Paris, Lyons, Antwerp, Venice, and Frankfort, had suffered severely. Although the Sixtine Index had been suppressed, it was rightly conjectured that the Clementine Index would follow closely on its lines ; and it was generally known that the new Index was not merely a revised but an enlarged edition of the Tridentine list. The Index of Clement appeared in 1596, and though it extended the powers of the censorship, and required an oath of allegiance to the Index from booksellers, it met with little opposition anywhere but in Venice.

At Venice the question of the censorship of the press was a point of vital importance to the large and flourishing industry of the book trade. The Republic had no objection to the proper supervision of the press on matters of religion, politics, and morals, and she recognized the Church as the proper judge on questions of faith ; politics and morals she held to be matters for censorship by the State. The points she insisted on were that the State was the proper instrument for the enforcement of the ecclesiastical censorship in matters of dogma ; and secondly, that this ecclesiastical censorship must not be allowed to ruin a thriving trade. The position is summed up in the opening words of Sarpi's memorandum on the *regolazione delle stampe*.¹ "La regolazione delle stampe è materia degna d'esser havuta in considerazione è reformata da VV. SS. Ecc^{me}, imperochè per le stampe facilmente si divulga qualunque sorte di dottrina, così proffitevole come perni-

¹ Cecchetti, *op. cit.* ii. 234.

ciosa . . . et ancora sotto quell'arte vivono molte persone nel dominio. Onde è necessario insieme haver l'occhio che non si stampi libro di cattiva dottrina o contraria alla santa religione o prejuditiale all' autorità delli Principi, o pur che introduca o fomenti cattivi costumi, il tutto però in tal maniera che l' arte faccia più negotio che possibil sia." And with this object in view Venice had, as a matter of fact, evolved for herself, vaguely and tentatively at first, finally by definite press legislation, a system of censorship which met the requirements of both Church and State. It is not till the Church, face to face with the Lutheran heresy and under the influence of the Catholic reaction, begins to assume a more aggressive attitude, that the Curia and the Republic come into collision over the question of press censorship.

The steps by which the Venetian censorship of books was evolved are clearly marked. The Senate or the Collegio granted copyrights, with which we have not here to deal; to the Ten, as to the guardian of state safety, belonged the duty of permitting or prohibiting the publication of a book—the power, in short, to grant an *imprimatur*. At first there was no legislation on the subject, but petitioners for an *imprimatur* found it helpful to put in voluntarily a *testamur* from some ecclesiastical authority as to the dogmatic soundness of the book; the earliest instance of such a *testamur* is to be found in the *Nosce te*, published by Jenson in 1480. In 1508 we find the Ten, when petitioned for an *imprimatur*, appointing an ecclesiastical censor to advise them before they grant the request—an act which distinctly implies that the government recognized the right of the Church to be protected by the State on matters of faith. Three years later, in 1515, the Ten declare that as a certain petitioner has put in *testamurs* from the patriarch and the inquisitor, the Council *quoad se* has no objection to offer, and *permittunt fieri quantum præfati Reverendissimus et Inquisitor concessere*. This looks like at least

a delegation by the State of the ecclesiastic side of the censorship. It was an inevitable conclusion. If there was to be a religious censorship at all, clearly the patriarch and the inquisitor were the proper persons to exercise it; and as long as the Church and State were in accord, no difficulties could arise.

Meantime, *pari passu* with the ecclesiastical censorship, the state political censorship had been growing up in the same vague, undetermined fashion. The Ten required the examination of books as regards their political bearings before it would grant an *imprimatur*. Both branches of censorship were concentrated by the general order of the Council of Ten issued on January 26, 1526-7, which rendered the *imprimatur* obligatory, and appointed two censors for the examination of books. But this provision is still vague; the censors are not named nor are their duties defined. The next step in press legislation was the appointment of the Riformatori dello Studio di Padova, the university commissioners, as the permanent censorial board to the Council of Ten (1544); the ecclesiastical side of press censorship was still left vaguely to the Church authorities. But the spread of the Lutheran heresy was by this time causing alarm to Church and State alike. Venice, as usual, took her own course in view of the danger. In 1547 the law rendering an *imprimatur* obligatory, which, like so many Venetian laws, had been infringed or evaded by the use of a false imprint, was reaffirmed, and its execution entrusted to the powerful board of the Esecutori contro alla Bestemmia and the three Savii sopra l'heresia, the three lay assessors appointed by the government to sit in the Holy Office, whose action was illegal without their assent. At the same time, for the better government of the book trade, and with a view to more easily dealing with scandalous, obscene, and heretical publications, the book trade was erected into a guild. But the university commissioners, who had been created the censorial board to the Council of

Ten, soon found that they were unequal to their highly specialized duties. They were Venetian patricians, quite capable of managing the affairs of the University of Padua, but certainly not equipped for the delicate task of examining the candidates for the press on the points of dogma, politics, and morals. Accordingly, in 1562 the commissioners delegated their functions to a permanent board of censors composed of the inquisitor or his vicar, a reader in philosophy in the university of Padua, and a ducal secretary, who were required to refuse or to furnish a *testamur* signed by all three; upon the receipt of the *testamur* the university commissioners granted a certificate, upon the presentation of which the Ten would grant an *imprimatur*, and this *imprimatur* was registered at the office of the *Executori contro la Bestemmia*, which thus became a kind of Stationers' Hall. From all this it is clear that the movement of the book trade in Venice was being seriously hampered by the operation of the press censorship, that the progress of a work from author to public was rendered both tedious and difficult. The important point in all this legislation is that the Inquisition had firmly established itself as an essential part of the censorial machinery, and that while the lay members of the censorial board were indifferent and ineffectual, the ecclesiastical member was active, vigilant, and vigorous. The ecclesiastical censorship became a real and living fact, the state censorship remained for the most part an empty letter. An order published by the Holy Office in 1558 required the custom-house authorities to present a list of all books passing through the customs, nor could they be removed by the consignee until the list had been sent in. This gave the Holy Office command of the trade in imported books, while the law of 1562 gave it a large share in the control of the home produce.

We have now reached the period when the Roman Indices begin to make their influence felt in Venice. The Pauline Index of 1559, owing to the opposition at Rome

and to the death of the pope, had but little effect on the book trade ; nor need we notice the *Moderatio Indicis* of Ghislieri, as far as Venice is concerned. But in 1564 the Tridentine Index with its ten *regulæ* was issued. This Index carried with it a claim to universal application as the work of an œcumenical council, and though it did not meet with acceptance in Spain and in Spanish possessions, it was accepted by the rest of Italy and by Venice, perhaps without a full appreciation of its effect on the book trade. The tenth rule on the censorship of books implied serious modifications in the position of the state censorship in Venice.

The first clause of rule x. provided that outside Rome the bishop of the diocese and the inquisitor should undertake examination and approbation of books. As far as Venice was concerned, the law of 1562 had already provided for the representation of the Church on the censorial board. Clause 2 declared that manuscripts shall be treated as books, and owners of anonymous manuscripts shall be held to be the authors unless they declare the authors. This was a provision unknown to Venice. By clause 3 the ecclesiastical approbation must be printed or written at the beginning of every book. By clause 4 the episcopal and inquisitorial delegates are to make frequent inspection of bookshops and presses. At Venice this duty was imposed on the officers of the guild. Clause 5 required every bookseller to keep a list of his stock signed by the bishop's delegate and by the inquisitor ; the possession of all other books exposed the bookseller to penalties. The operation of this clause could not fail to hamper seriously the sale of new books, even though the books themselves might be harmless. The titles of all imported books were, by clause 7, to be submitted to the inquisitorial authority—a provision already in force in Venice, in virtue of the regulation of 1558-9. Imported books might not be circulated without ecclesiastical permission ; heirs were required to declare the contents

of libraries they inherited; and, finally, by clause 9, the Index itself might be indefinitely enlarged at the pleasure of the bishop or the inquisitors-general.

The Tridentine *regulæ*, it is clear, must, if enforced, seriously hamper the free movement and development of the book trade. The government of Venice would probably have had no objection to raise had their operation been confined to heretical books, but the search for these was made so widely, so laboriously, so meticulously, that the entire book business was throttled; moreover, the *regulæ* made no mention of the co-operation or the approval of the secular authority in the censorship of books—a point upon which the Venetian government was highly sensitive. That the new Index and *regulæ* did actually weigh heavily on the book trade is confirmed by a letter written by Josias Simler in 1565. "A new Index," he says, "has appeared, and so many books are condemned by it that a number of professors in the Italian universities cry out that they cannot lecture if it remain in force. Frankfort and Zurich and other German States have written to the Senate of Venice urging it not to accept the edict, which will ruin the book trade."¹ And later on Bernardo Castiglione, a Dominican, writing from Rome in 1581, declares that booksellers no longer take the risk of importing books, and cannot sell those they have on stock. But Venice had accepted the Council of Trent and could not draw back, though it was her book trade, as being the widest, which suffered most in all Italy. The pressure of the Index and the Tridentine *regulæ* was gradual but steady—the number of Holy Office trials for press offences increased during the next few years;² but it is not till we reach the Clementine Index of 1593 that complaints become audible and the State intervenes on behalf of the trade. Its action in the matter of the book trade was part and parcel of its growing resentment against the new claims of the Curia Romana,

¹ Reusch, *op. cit.* i. p. 346.

² *Arch. di Stato*, Sant' Uffizio, Indice.

as based on the attitude assumed at the Council of Trent and enforced by the use of the Bull *In Cæna Domini*, with its annual elastic list of persons, classes of persons, and actions placed under excommunication. Moreover, the new Indices compiled in Rome showed a tendency to enlarge the number of condemned books.

The Clementine Index was ready by 1593, but the pope hesitated to publish it, being aware of a strong party opposed to its excessive severity. Paolo Paruta, the Venetian ambassador at Rome, took advantage of the delay to remonstrate with the pope. He dwelt on the importance of the Venetian book trade, and insisted that the existing state censorship, provided *motu proprio* by Venice herself, was sufficient to ensure the suppression of publications "contra principi, contra buoni costumi sopra tutto contra la religione cattolica."¹ The new Index was an augmentation of the Tridentine Index, and by its fresh prohibitions would ruin many who thought, and justly, that they were covered by their observance of the Tridentine Index. He further pointed out that it was injudicious to alienate the learned classes, of which there seemed to be a danger, judging by the discontent expressed in Rome. The pope gave a kindly attention to Paruta, and after some further delay and several meetings of the Congregation of the Index, he insisted on the removal of a large class of books—classics, poetry, and romances—in which the Venetian book trade was deeply interested. Finally, after three years' delay, the Clementine Index was published. Its most important feature was a kind of appendix to the Tridentine *regulæ* containing instructions on the prohibition, correction, and printing of books, *Instructio eorum qui tum prohibendis, tum expurgandis, tum etiam imprimendis diligentiam ac fidem (ut par est) operam sunt daturi*.

The *Instructio* enlarged and accentuated the claims already put forward by the Tridentine *regulæ*. By

¹ Paruta, *La Legazione di Roma: Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria*, serie iv. *Miscellanea*, vol. vii. (Venezia).

clauses 3, 4, and 5, on the prohibition of books, provision was made for the continual enlargement of the Index by the annual lists sent in to Rome from Italian dioceses and foreign nunciatures. Clause 2, on the correction of books, enlarged the inquisitorial censorship to cover the debatable ground of political doctrine. Clause 6, on the printing of books, required an oath of allegiance to the Index and the Church authorities from Venetian subjects.

The Venetian government at once opposed the *Instructio*. They were moved to action partly by a protest of the whole book trade and partly by alarm at the infringements of the rights of secular princes implied in the *Instructio*. Negotiations between Rome and Venice were still proceeding when the papal authorities ordered all parish priests and confessors to enjoin observance of the *Instructio* on their congregations and penitents. This step, taken while the question was *sub judice*, exasperated the government, who ordered the printers and booksellers to disregard the injunctions of the clergy. In the face of this attitude the pope gave way; a compromise was reached by the signing of the *Declaratio*, afterwards known as the Concordat. By this famous document the Venetian book trade recovered much of its freedom, the press censorship in Venice was brought back to the terms in which it had been established by the State, and the government resumed its absolute authority over its own subjects. The oath of allegiance demanded by the *Instructio* was abolished; the right to enlarge the Index was strictly confined to books attacking dogma, printed outside Venice or with a false imprint; and as a matter of fact, no augmented Index was published in Venice till the year 1766.

Had the Venetian book trade availed itself of the freedom acquired by the Concordat, it might have recovered its lost activity and world-wide importance. But it did not, and the Church left no stone unturned

to render the *Declaratio* abortive. Only one hundred and fifty copies were printed; the clergy as a body still enjoined observance of Roman prohibitions on the faithful; the pressure of the Index and the inquisitorial censorship were hardly relaxed; the press showed a steady decline; printers began to leave Venice; within a few months of the publication of the Clementine Index the presses had fallen from one hundred and twenty-five to forty. The truth is that, in spite of their opposition to Rome and in spite of the liberty secured by the Concordat, the Venetians were still profoundly Catholic at heart—*fili legitimi* of the Church, whose orders they were prepared to obey in all departments of private life, whatever might be their public attitude on politico-ecclesiastical questions. They required the sacraments, and themselves admitted that they dared not and would not face excommunication.¹ It was impossible that their opposition to Rome should be real and effective. The presence of the inquisitor on the censorial board in virtue of the law of 1562 gave the Congregation of the Index all the power it required. The inquisitor had merely to take the latest list issued from Rome and to steadily refuse his *testatur* to any book on that list.

The publication of the Clementine Index and the Concordat closes the early formative period of the history of press censorship in Venice. The struggle with the Curia was carried on under the direction of Paolo Sarpi, and the Republic made a bold stand for the independent rights of secular princes; but as far as her press was concerned, the Church had won the victory in fact, in spite of the apparent concessions granted by the Concordat.

¹ Paruta, *loc. cit.*

THE DOCUMENTS ISSUED WITH DELLA CASA'S
CATALOGUE

[p. 1]

CATALOGO|

Di Diverse Opere|

compositioni, et libri ;|

li quali come heretici, sospetti, impij, et scandalosi si dichiara|
no dannati, et prohibiti in questa inclita citta di Vinegia, et | in
tutto l'Illustrissimo dominio Vinitiano, sì da | mare, come da
terra :| Composto dal Reuerendo padre maestro Marino Vinitiano,
del | monastero de frati Minori di Vinegia, dell'ordine di San
Francesco, de | connentuali, Inquisitore dell'heretica prauita ;
con maturo cōsiglio, essa | minatione, et comprobatione di molti
Reuerendi Primarij maestri in | Theologia di diverse religioni, et
monasteri di detta citta di Vinegia : | d'ordine, et cōmissione del
Reuerendissimo Monsignor Giovanni | della Casa, eletto di
Beneuento, Decano della camera Aposto|lica di sua Santita, et
della Santa Sede Apostolica in tutto l' Illu|striss. Dominio pre-
detto Legato Apostolico: aggiutoui anchora il con|siglio de i
clarissimi Signori Deputati contra gli heretici: stampato in | esse-
cutione della parte presa nell'eccellentissimo Consiglio de Dieci|
con la giunta ; à laude del Signore Iddio, conseruation della
fede| Christiana, et felicità di esso Illustrissimo Dominio.

In Vinegia, alla bottega d' Erasmo di Vincenzo Valgrisi|

M. D. XLIX.

[p. 2]

1549. Adi 7 di Mazo.

Li Eccellentissimi Signori deputati contra li heretici conce|
deno al oltrascritto stampator, che nissun altro possi stampar|la
presente opera, sotto pena alli contrafacenti di perder le|opere, et
ducato uno per cadauna.

Aloy. Brogi Duc. Secret.

[p. 3]

1548. Die 16. Ianuarii in Consilio x.

cum additione.

Fu fatto publicamente proclamar in questa cit|ta, per delibera-
tione di questo consiglio, alli| 18. Luglio passato, che se alcuno
hauesse libri, nelli qua|li si contenesse alcuna cosa contra la fede

catholica, do|uesse in termine do otto giorni presentarli alli tre dilettissimi nobili nostri deputati sopra li heretici senza in|correre in pena alcuna, et non fu dechiarito altramente li nomi de simili libri, hora mo essendo stato fatto di |ordine del Reuerēdo Legato, per il Venerando Inquisi|tor con interuento, et consiglio di tre prefati nobili no|stri, et di molti maestri in Theologia un Catalogo, o |summario di tutti i libri heretici, et de altri suspecti, è|grandemente à proposito farlo publicar à notitia de|tutti perho.|

L'andara parte, che il sopraditto Catalogo sia fatto |stampar, e per i ditti nobili ne sia dato uno à cadaun |stampator, et uenditor de libri, et si facci etiam, che in |una bottega se ne uendi publicamente, et sia reiterato |in questa città il detto proclama de 18. Luglio, con par|ticular mentione del presente Catalogo, et del libra|ro, che li uenderà, accioche se alcuno contrafara, non |habbia causa di escusarsi. il qual Catalogo sia medesi|mamente mandato à tutti i Rettori delle terre nostre |principal, da terra, e da mare con ordine, che'l faccino |publicar per tutta la sua Diocese, dando quel termine, |che le parera de farseli presentar senza pena, il qual pas [p. 4] sato, debbano proceder, contra li inobedienti, secondo li parerà meritar la temerita loro. |

Il tenor del proclama del qual si fa mentione |in detta parte, sequita. |

Il Serenissimo Principe fa à saper etè parte presa |nel Eccellentissimo Consiglio di Dieci con la zon|ta, à cadauna persona habitante in questa città et de|stretto suo, così stampatori ouer uēditori de libri, come |cadaun altro, sia de che condition et qualita esser si uo|glia, così clerici come laici, che se alcuno di loro sī ritro|ua haver libri, così stāpati in questa città, come uenuti |da altri luoghi sottoposti, o nō sottoposti al serenissimo |Dominio de Venetia, nelli quali libri sia scritto alcuna |cosa contra la fede Catholica, debbano in termine de |giorni otto presentar alli clarissimi signori deputati |sopra li heretici, perche non obstante le parte del Illu|strissimo Consiglio di Dieci contra quelli, che tengo|no simil libri, non incorrerano in pena alcuna. Ma pas|sato che sara il ditto termine, essi Clarissimi Signori fa|ranno diligentissima inquisitione et trouando alcun |contrafacente, li daranno seuerissimo castigo, secondo |l'autorita concessali dal prefato Illustrissimo Conse|glio di Dieci in questa materia. Et se alcuno accusera |qualche contrafacente, sara tenuto secretissimo, et ha|uera il dono pecuniario promessoli dalle sopraditte Le|ze. Et uiua San Marco. |

Publicata sopra le scale di San Marco, et de Rialto per ser Bartholo|mio Centurer, comādador al officio del Forestier Die. 19. Luio 1548.

[p. 5]

Intendonsi Dannate el|prohibite tutte le opere de gli infrascriti | heretici et heresiarchi, che si ritronano | composte in sacra Theo-
logia, et in | ogni altra materia Ecclesiastica, | si latine, come uolgari, cio è.

Then follows a list of 140 names and titles, with the same errors as in Vergerio's edition.

[p. 11]

Mandato, et commissione prælibati Reuerendissimi | Domini in toto Illustrissimo Dominio Venetorum Le|gati Apostolici, tenore præsentium denuntiantur ex|communicati excommunica-
tione maiori, contenta in | Bulla Coenæ Domini, iuxta illius tenorem et formam | omnes illi qui penes se in domibus propriis, et in quo|uis alio loco ausi fuerint absque auctoritate, et licentia | sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ tenere publice nel occulte, et | quouis modo legere, imprimere, et defendere libros, | compositiones, et opera, de quibus in huiusmodi Ca|thologo sit mentio, et pro talibus ac ut tales declaran|tur et publicantur. In quorum fidem, etc. Datum Venetiis apud sanctum loannem à templo. Die VII. Mensis Maii. MDXLIX.

Presbyter Bartholomeus à Capello cancellarius de mandato, etc.

A Venetian Printer-Publisher in the Sixteenth Century

THE subject of this study is Gabriele Giolito,¹ the chief of a firm of printers and booksellers who flourished in Venice during a large part of the sixteenth century.

At the eastern end of that line of hills upon which the Superga, the tomb of the House of Savoy, now stands is a little valley in the district of Monferrat, called Valle de' Gioliti, and its inhabitants are for the most part named after their valley. This was the original home of that family whose fortunes we are about to follow. It was from the Valle de' Gioliti that they moved into the town of Trino, on the other side of the Po, some time before we find them famous as printers. The name Giolito is not unknown in modern Italy. One of the family pleased himself with a derivation from the French *joli*, asserting that an ancestor who had sojourned in France gained the endearing epithet from his grace of person. The Gioliti bore another name, De' Ferrari or De' Ferraris, which they exchanged at pleasure with that of Giolito; so that we find indifferently Giolito de' Ferrari or Ferrari de' Giolitis, though the former is the more common.

The Giolito settled in the town of Trino at least as early as the end of the fourteenth century. They took an active part in the civic life of their home; were wealthy merchants and became nobles of Trino, where they possessed houses and property of value. Their

¹ Throughout this study I have followed Signor Salvatore Bongi in his admirable *Annali di Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari* (Rome : 1890).

descendant, Gabriele, had occasion to write from Venice to the Duchess of Mantua, whose husband, the duke, was also lord of Monferrat, complaining bitterly of the damage done to his house in Trino by the continual billeting of soldiers therein; "whose number and insolence," he says, "have grown day by day to such a pitch that if your Highness does not interfere on my behalf, and that quickly, the whole place will go to ruin." Gabriele's petition produced the desired effect. The soldiery were withdrawn from the Giolito house. But the relief did not long endure. Presently we find Gabriele writing to the imperial ambassador, lamenting that the mischief of the billeting has been renewed with twofold violence, and imploring the ambassador to secure for him the privilege that no troops may be lodged in his house without his leave. "Not that I wish to avoid my just burdens, but that my property may not be entirely destroyed." In the annals of the town of Trino the names of other members of the Giolito family, distinguished in war and in commerce, frequently occur; and we conclude that at the time when they embarked upon printing and bookselling, they had attained a very high position in their adopted city.

It is impossible now to discover what induced them to add the book trade to their other industries. The idea was in the air. The new art had been introduced into Italy in 1465; and the attention of cultivated society was attracted to it. The district in which Trino stands soon became one of the chief centres of the business; the whole country around the home of the Gioliti is full of memories of the earliest masters of typography, and the names of Trino, Gabiano, Verolengo, will recall to bibliographers many a specimen of Italian *incunabula*. Other Trinesi had already preceded the Gioliti in the exercise of the new industry, among them Bernardino Stagnino and Guglielmo, the latter of whom rejoiced in the nickname of Animamia. Perhaps the success of these fellow-countrymen induced

the wealthy and mercantile Gioliti to follow in their steps. However that may be, we can hardly doubt that the migration of Bernardino and Animamia to Venice and their activity in that city attracted the Gioliti also to the capital of the Venetian Republic; and the example set by them was continued through centuries. The number of Trinesi to be found among Venetian printers is quite remarkable. The succession is continued from the year 1483 down to the close of the eighteenth century, when Trino was represented by the family of the Pezzana, successors of the famous firm of Giunta, whose Florentine lily they bore as a sign.

Giovanni Giolito, father of Gabriele, set up a printing-press in Trino in the year 1508, and continued to print there till the year 1523, when the disasters of war compelled him to close his workshops. His chief issues were legal tomes, printed in Gothic character; and the activity of his press was in no way remarkable, for only thirty Giolitan editions are recorded between 1508 and 1523. In all probability Gabriele was born during the earlier years of this period; so that he was brought up within sight and sound of a printing-press. When political troubles compelled Giovanni to close his shop in Trino, he went to Venice, and appears to have put himself at once in relations with his compatriots, Stagnino and others, who had preceded him to the city of the lagoons. It is possible that he was in straitened circumstances at the moment, for, though Venice offered such an excellent field for the art of printing, we do not find that Giovanni established a press, or even issued any works under his own name, whereas it is nearly certain that he was employed by other printer-publishers. Giovanni took with him, or caused to follow him to Venice, some of his family, among them his son Gabriele. But of this period in the history of the Gioliti we know almost nothing. The next certain point is Giovanni's return to his native city in 1534. There he reopened his press; using this time not Gothic character, but that exquisite

Roman type copied from the fount of Nicolas Jenson, and known then as *carattere rotondo* or *veneziano*. Giovanni occupied himself in printing for the University of Turin; and his books were sold contemporaneously in Trino and in that city. But this new venture was destined to a brief existence. The French Army seized Trino in the year 1534; and Giovanni found himself obliged to leave his native city, and to betake himself once more to the safety and shelter of the only quiet state in Italy, the Republic of Venice.

This brief period of Giovanni's sojourn in Trino is of moment in the history of the Gioliti, for it introduces us for the first time to the subject of this study, Gabriele Gioliti, whom his father had left behind in Venice. Gabriele's name occurs in an epistle dedicatory, dated January 18, 1535, and prefixed to Giovanni's edition of Perotto's grammar. The letter was written by Prè Antonio Craverio, proof-reader and school-master in Turin. He says: "Notwithstanding my daily occupation in matters spiritual and temporal, I am resolved right readily, gladly, and willingly, to undertake the revision of those works which you propose to print in Venetian character in the city of Turin. And with the help of the highest and most mighty God, I will make it my care that they shall be published in such a fashion as to spread throughout the whole world, and especially in Turin, where the printer's art has ever been held in such esteem. The nobility of your profession and the fame you enjoy, not only in your native Trino, but in Venice, Germany, France, and Spain, urge me to comply with your request; and in truth your merits, which also adorn your son Master Gabriele, whom you have left in Venice to fill your place, render both you and him dear to all the learned; for you live not for yourselves alone, and therefore do scholars bear you great affection and good will." From the reference to Gabriele in this letter, it seems probable that he was already a full-grown man, left behind in Venice in order to maintain

business relations, but as yet without a press or book-shop of his own; for when Giovanni returned to Venice, after the closing of his university press, he was obliged once more to employ other printing-presses to produce the volumes he proposed to issue—the press of Bindoni for his Ariosto, and that of Stagnino for his Dante. This dependence on others did not satisfy Giovanni, and soon after settling in Venice he established a printing-press of his own, from which, in the years 1536 and 1539, several works were issued, bearing on their title-page the well-known emblem of the Gioliti, a phoenix rising from the flames, surmounting a globe, ribboned with the motto *Semper eadem*.¹

Giovanni died in 1540, and left to his son Gabriele, who now became the head of the firm, his printing business, at that time merely in its infancy, his wealth, and a lawsuit which proved a source of considerable trouble to Gabriele. Giovanni was twice married, and by these marriages he had had four sons and some daughters. He made a will during the lifetime of his second wife, directing that any child born to him posthumously should share equally with those for whom he now provided. His second wife died, however, and Giovanni took a third, by whom he had one son and three daughters, who claimed the right to share with the children of the former marriages. The case was probably tried at Casale; and Gabriele was compelled to leave Venice in 1541, in order to attend to the suit. The opinion of counsel was hostile to the children of the third marriage; but we do not know how the court decided the case. Gabriele was not detained for any long time away from Venice. He returned to that city, and set himself seriously to the great business of his life, the establishment of the famous Giolitan press and book trade.

¹ See *Catalogo d'una Raccolta di opere stampate dai Gioliti de' Ferrari in Venezia* (Milano, Hoepli). The Dante belongs to the year 1536.

Gabriele's first step in this direction was a modest one. He found the plant of his father's press inadequate to the work he proposed to undertake. He accordingly began by acquiring both the stock and the plant of two eminent printer-publishers: the one his compatriot Bernardino Stagnino; the other Bartolomeo Zanetti, a Brescian, well known in the literary world as the object of a scurrilous attack by that free lance Gian Francesco Doni. With these imperfect instruments Gabriele worked for two years. That he conducted his business successfully is proved by the fact that at the end of this time he was able to furnish his shop with type and ornaments, quite new and all his own. It is interesting, as an indication of public taste, to note the works to which Gabriele owed these beginnings of his fortune: they were the *Decamerone* and the *Orlando Furioso*, published in 1542, the *Cortegiano* of Castiglione, Bede's *Commentary on St. Paul*, and Nicolò Franco's *Dialoghi* and *Petrarchista*.

At the outset of his career Gabriele enjoyed three great advantages over the majority of his brother tradesmen: he was a man of means, of education, and of position. The first of these qualifications, his wealth, enabled him to embark upon editions without waiting for orders, and so to keep his press constantly alive. All that was required of him to insure his success was intelligence in the choice of the works he printed, and a just perception of the general current of public taste. And here his two other qualifications of position and of education were of value to him. He was a good judge of the literary impulse of his day; and his position enabled him to make the acquaintance of many of the more eminent lights in the world of letters. His taste was catholic, as a great publisher's should be. We find among his friends persons of such varied ability and character as Aretino, Bernardo Tasso, Nicolò Franco, Doni, Giovanni Battista Giraldi, the novelist, Antonio

Brucioli, Remigio Fiorentino, Sansovino, Porcacchi. For some of these Gabriele acted as printer and publisher; others were employed by him, either to write books on subjects suggested by him, or in the correction of works on which he had resolved to embark his capital. Many of these collaborators lodged with Gabriele in his house at Sant'Aponal. The house was a large one, and fitted with considerable luxury; large enough and sumptuous enough to entertain the Duke of Mantua on the occasion of a visit to Venice. Gabriele himself records this fact with pride in the dedication of the Life of the Emperor Frederick to the emperor's daughter, the Duchess of Mantua, wherein, recounting the honours done him by the duke, her husband, he says, "But greatest of all was the favour he showed me in deigning to lodge in my small and humble hostelry in Venice."

Gabriele's chief difficulty in the way of a successful career lay, as we have already suggested, in the choice of a line of business. Between the date of the introduction of printing into Italy and the period with which we are dealing a change had come over the quality of Italian taste in letters. Two divergent currents displayed themselves. The pure scholars still existed, the men who lived with the classics, and considered a translation a doubtful boon. But the classics had all been edited and published with the greatest diligence and in the most sumptuous form. Critical scholarship had not made advance sufficient to render new editions a necessity; and the art of printing had so deteriorated that there was little prospect of a reprint competing in beauty with the works of John of Speyer, of Jenson, or of Aldus. On the other hand, the men with whom Gabriele was thrown in contact were almost all engaged in developing the vulgar tongue, in letters, in comedies, in novels, in translations. The press had performed its inevitable function of *gran volgarizzatore*; the reading public was immensely increased in number, but had

ceased, for the most part, to be truly literate. It is therefore obvious that Gabriele's own good sense and business acumen would lead him to make the choice he did, and to determine to devote the chief energies of his press to works in the vulgar tongue. As a proof of Gabriele's activity in the publication of the Italian classics, and as an indication of the public taste, we note that between the years 1542 and 1560 he issued twenty-eight editions of the *Orlando Furioso*, twenty-two of Petrarch, nine of the *Decamerone*, and one edition of Dante. On comparing these figures with the list of all editions between 1536 and 1560, it becomes clear that Gabriele played a very large part in the diffusion of these great Italian texts. During these twenty-four years the *Orlando* was published sixty-nine times, Petrarch sixty-one, the *Decamerone* twenty-six, and Dante nine times.

The most fruitful and flourishing period of Gabriele's career as a publisher may be reckoned from 1560 to 1575. But within this period the nature of the Giolitan press, while still retaining its general characteristic of issues in the vulgar tongue, underwent a change, the causes of which are to be sought in the history of the times, and more especially in the attitude of the Church towards the press. Gabriele had begun by dealing largely in *belles-lettres*, light literature, and the sceptical philosophers. The works of Boccaccio, Ariosto, Nicolò Franco, and Machiavelli employed a large part of his activity. But the spirit of reform in manners, which was animating the Church and being formulated in the sessions of the Council of Trent, was about to make itself felt in the world of letters. The Church resolved to attack light literature and sceptical teaching. In 1549 the first Italian Index, or Catalogue of Prohibited Books, was published in Venice. Gabriele, whether from conviction or from prudence, determined immediately to comply with the movement. He abandoned light literature almost entirely, and ceased to print Ariosto,

Boccaccio, Petrarch, and Machiavelli, although they had hitherto formed the chief staple of his publishing business. We shall see presently that this ready obedience to the wishes of the Church did not save him from a collision with the Holy Office. In the meantime, however, he found it necessary to inaugurate some new line of industry to compensate for that source of profit which he found was suddenly run dry. Without renouncing his predilection for the vulgar tongue, he devised a scheme of publication which was undoubtedly the most remarkable and most original feature in his career as printer-publisher.

It had been no infrequent habit of the early publishers to issue in one volume the works of several different authors on cognate subjects. But the idea of a series, in our sense of the word, was absolutely unknown to the publishers of that day. Gabriele conceived the idea of presenting to the world translations of the Greek and Latin classics and the masterpieces of Italian literature in uniform series of many volumes. The various series he called *collane*, or necklaces; each necklace was to be composed of *anelli*, or links, represented by the various authors in the series, and of *gioielli*, or gems, represented by excursions for the elucidation of those authors. This idea of Gabriele, though never carried to completion, was probably the parent of those numerous series which have continued to multiply down to the present day. But, like many novel ideas, the scheme was conceived on too grandiose a scale. Gabriele was unable to carry the execution of his design for any considerable distance. The *Collana Istorica* was entrusted to Tommaso Porcacchi as editor, and he published the programme of the Greek portion in the preface to the translations of Thucydides and Polybius; the programme of the Latin authors who were to form links in the historical necklace was prepared, but never published; the Italian links and all the gems are wanting. The

proposal appears to have met with favour from the learned; but the plan was too vast. Gabriele very soon found himself obliged to reprint translations already in vogue, instead of supplying new renderings, as he intended, in order to satisfy an impatient public, and to fill the serious gaps in his necklace. Nor were internal difficulties the only ones which confronted him. The plague broke out in Venice, and for a time brought all trade to a standstill. Gabriele's historical series remained uncompleted, a mere sketch of the design he had set before him. But the collection of all that Gabriele had ever printed, together with the attempt to fill up his programme from other sources, was for long a hobby with Italian bibliophiles.

Giolito did not confine his idea of a series to the works of profane writers only. He embarked upon an undertaking of less ambition than his *Collana Istorica*, and in this he succeeded. Among his intimates and collaborators Gabriele numbered, besides men of letters, many learned divines, the most distinguished of whom was Remigio Fiorentino. With the help of these men he collected and published a series to which he gave the name of *Ghirlanda Spirituale*, or *Spiritual Garland*, in which the various volumes formed the flowers. Not content with the *Garland*, he projected a second series of pious works, to be known as the *Albero Spirituale*, or *Spiritual Tree*, with various fruits, the component parts of the series, on its branches. The *Garland* was completed, and enjoyed a wide circulation; but only the seventh fruit on the *Spiritual Tree*, Tauler's *Exercises*, ever came to maturity.

The conception and execution of these series are the most striking feature in Giolito's life as a publisher. He was proud of his idea, and allowed one of his editors to address him in a dedication as "he who has set before himself the task of bettering the world by Christian and pious books, printed in his splendid type, as he has already enriched it with

the works of historians and poets, to his own great fame and glory." This praise bestowed on Gabriele's type leads us to consider his position as a printer. One of the most extraordinary features in the story of the Venetian printing-press is the great beauty of its very earliest productions and the rapidity with which deterioration set in. It would be safe to affirm that nothing more lovely typographically than the monuments of the first Venetian presses, the works of the brothers John and Wendelin of Speyer, of Nicolas Jenson, or of Bernard Pictor and Ratdolt, ever issued from the workshops of that city. At the period of which we are writing the press was in rapid decadence, and the praise bestowed on the books brought out by Gabriele Giolito must be taken as relative to the work of his contemporaries; in which case, no doubt, his publications deserve the title of *bellissime stampe*. Among the various causes which brought about the decline of typographical art in Venice, one of the most important has hardly received sufficient attention from bibliographers: we mean the rise of type-founding as a separate branch of industry. The earlier masters, such as Jenson, were frequently men accustomed to cut in metal, and therefore able to produce their own punches from which the moulds for their founts were impressed. Much of a printer's success depended on his skill in cutting punches, and on his artistic sense of proportion and form in the letters he designed. The punches of men like Jenson and Aldus were valuable property, worthy to be bequeathed by will, and finding ready purchasers when they came into the market. The result of this individual designing of type by the printer himself was that the works of the early masters had each a style and *cachet* of their own. No one would confuse a Jenson with a John of Speyer, for example: the notes of their character, the forms of their letters, their signs of contraction, distinguish them at once from each other. But about the middle of the six-

teenth century a type-foundry, independent of any particular printer or group of printers, was opened as a commercial speculation in Venice. The object of the promoters was monetary success, and the chief means towards this end was cheapness. The result was that in a very short time the printing-presses of Venice were supplied with a character uniform in quality and inferior in artistic beauty. The book-buying public was willing to accept the innovation. The days were already past in which the printed book was expected to rival the manuscript in elegance of form. The literary world seemed indifferent to the quality of their books; and even such well-known printers as Giovanni Rossi, Paul Manutius, and Gabriele Giolito yielded to the temptation, and lost their distinctive features in the general mass. The date of this revolution in printing may be placed in the year 1555, so that Gabriele had been at work about thirteen years with characters of his own, displaying his conception of a good type, before his press was invaded by the undistinguished and undistinguishable flood of mediocre characters produced wholesale by speculating type-founders. The brilliant period of Gabriele Giolito's career as a printer was previous to the year 1555; and if his books at any time merited the title of *bellissime stampe*, it was before the opening of the wholesale type-foundry. But, as we have said, the general public did not resent the deterioration. In 1560 Gabriele was employed to produce Bernardo Tasso's *Amadigi*. It was a work of great importance, eagerly looked for in the literary world, and author and publisher were united in the desire to do it justice. Yet we find that the character employed was that to be found in almost every press in Venice, the work of the type-foundry. Gabriele never suffered in his publishing business from yielding to the innovation, and the years of his greatest activity were subsequent to his adoption of the new type.

So far, then, we have followed Gabriele's course as

a publisher and as a printer, two branches of the book trade which he combined, like most of his contemporaries, and personally superintended, in his large establishment at Sant'Aponal, called the Libreria della Fenice. His fame among his contemporaries and his high position in Venice are beyond a doubt. Aretino said of him that he "printed like a prince, not like a bookseller"; Charles V. sent him a present of a work of art—what, we do not know—representing his famous emblem, the Phoenix; the Duke of Mantua came to lodge with him; and the Republic bestowed upon him the citizenship of Venice.

But Giolito's business was not confined to Venice. As his reputation became Italian, if not European, he opened branches in Ferrara and Bologna for the sale of books, and thought of establishing a press in the former city if the duke would grant him special privileges. A third shop, of which we shall have more to say presently, was opened in Naples. Besides carrying on these branch shops, which were known to be his, and in all likelihood displayed the sign of the Phoenix, Gabriele was in business relations with book merchants not only in Italy, but also abroad. At Mantua, for instance, he was creditor of three booksellers, one of whom never discharged his debt; and in Lyons he had most cordial relations with the printer Roville, who wrote of him that he was "a man truly deserving of his time, for he had published more beautiful books in Italian and in Spanish than any one alive." At his branch shops, Gabriele, following the example of Aldus and many Venetian houses, kept in stock not only his own publications, but also the works of other printers; moreover, he undertook to supply foreign books, which were purchased for him at the great German fairs, like Frankfort, which Venetian merchants were in the habit of frequenting. In this way he combined three branches of the book trade which are generally conducted separately: he was at once a printer, a publisher, and a bookseller.

But to return to the Naples branch, which was the source of much trouble to Giolito. We find that he had entrusted the conduct of this business in Naples to a certain Pietro Ludrini. As time went on, however, Gabriele had occasion to suspect Ludrini's honesty. He accordingly sent Giovanni Battista Capello to Naples to take over the management of the house; and for Capello he drew up the following instructions, with which he despatched him on the delicate task of expelling Ludrini and assuming the direction of the Neapolitan shop. The document is so vivid and so instructive that we shall translate it nearly in full:

"In the name of God, April 10, 1563, in Venice.

"I, Gabriele Giolito, present to you, Giovanni Battista Capello, this memorandum of that which you are to do when once you are in Naples, whither God lead you safe and sound. First, as soon as you reach Naples you will put yourself in communication with Messer Stefano Corsini, merchant, and Messer Giovanni de Bottis, bookseller, and will ask their advice as to the best means for becoming possessed of my shop. And do not forget to have an inventory made out by a notary; for I desire that my affairs should be all clear and in order, even if I have to spend a little more upon them. It will be as well to call in the arm of the law; so that if Pietro makes any resistance, you may be able to compel him to reason. Do not let Pietro know that you are in Naples till all is ready. When you are quite prepared, go to Pietro, and pretend that you have only just arrived. Give him my letters, in which I charge him to surrender my business to you. If he yield quietly, lose no time, but send for a notary at once to draw up the inventory; and ask Pietro to hand over all moneys he may have on my account, and give him a receipt for the same. If he resist, enter a formal protest holding him responsible for all damage or loss that may arise. Messer Corsini will consign to you

nineteen boxes and five sacks, numbered from one to twenty-four. They contain books for stocking the shop. I have given you the invoice, and you will verify the contents. I have told Messer Corsini to furnish you with money for legal and other expenses. You will keep minutely a day-book of the shop, in which you will enter all income and expenditure. Further, should you find in my shop any prohibited books, I will not have them on sale. They must be put aside. The *Spicelegium* is copyrighted in the kingdom of Naples, and cannot be sold there. When once you have everything in your hands, you will see that new keys are made for all the doors and all the chests, so that no one who has duplicates of the old keys can play any tricks. Letters for me are to be handed to Corsini, but franked as far as Rome. You will also take stock of all my books, for I fear that many are imperfect. I know that Pietro used to sell loose sheets of them to make up other booksellers' copies. Send me a list of all imperfections, and they shall be remedied at once. Above all, live like a good Christian, with the fear of God before your eyes, if you wish to get on. Don't get into bad habits, for they ruin a man; fly them if you desire that this our good beginning should endure. God give you light to act fairly by us both.

"I forgot to say that if Pietro offers you any debtors for books sold on credit, let him look to them himself. But if he draws the cash, enter it to his credit. He had no authority from me to sell a single sheet on credit; and I charge you not to do so, either. If, however, you should hear that a debtor is of better substance than Pietro, you may accept him and enter him on the books. All the takings of the shop you will consign every month to Corsini."

This memorandum, apart from the light it throws on Gabriele's character as a man of business, is of great importance in the history of his life, for it was the means of clearing him when on trial before the Inquisition.

Capello arrived in Naples ; and, so far as we know, Ludrini surrendered the shop and the stock without raising any opposition. An inventory was drawn up ; and Capello, in obedience to his instructions, sorted out the prohibited books and placed them in the entresol above the shop. But Ludrini was bent upon revenge for his expulsion ; and he took it in a way which was certain to prove most troublesome both to Capello and to Giolito. In January, 1565, he made out a list of prohibited books which he knew to be in Giolito's shop, and presented it at the office of the Neapolitan Inquisition. The result of this denunciation was that Giovanni Ortega de Salina, captain of the civic guard of Naples, in obedience to orders from the Holy Office, went to the sign of the Phoenix, and, finding Capello there with some shopmen, he announced his intention of searching the dwelling-house. The quest proved fruitless. No books were found in Capello's rooms. But on coming downstairs Salina turned aside into the entresol ; and there he saw a number of books piled upon tables. In answer to a question Capello said that all these were books forbidden by the Index, and that he had set them aside because he had been told that the Holy Office had ordered the bookshops of Naples to be searched. When asked how he came to have prohibited books in his possession at all, Capello replied that he had them in his shop in virtue of a licence ; but, on being ordered to produce it, he admitted that the licence was only a verbal one, and did not exist in writing. Giolito's memorandum shows that Capello's last answers and explanations were disingenuous ; and it is difficult to understand why he gave such compromising replies, unless he did so under a lively terror of the Inquisition. The result was inevitable : both he and his master became seriously embroiled with the Holy Office. On receiving Capello's replies, Salina at once ordered all the books to be placed in three trunks, which he sealed and deposited in a neighbouring shop, with instructions

that they were to be surrendered to the Inquisition officers, and to no one else. Capello was arrested and confined in the Vicaria.

The books seized were certainly of a nature to bring Capello and Giolito into trouble. They included Antonio Brucioli's translation of the New Testament, and many works of Aretino, Machiavelli, Melanchthon, Boccaccio, and Erasmus; and the Neapolitan Inquisition showed a desire to proceed rapidly and with vigour. On February 2 Capello was examined before the Tribunal. He declared that, when the captain of the guard appeared at his house, he thought forbidden arms, not forbidden books, were the object of his search. When Salina had asked him about the books found in the entresol, he had answered that they were forbidden books which he had placed there so that they might not be sold, and that he was awaiting instructions from his master Giolito, to whom he had applied for orders in the matter. He also stated that the only forbidden book he had for sale was the *Adagia* of Erasmus.

The introduction of Gabriele's name made the Inquisition determine to involve him too in the trial. The Holy Office of Naples placed itself in communication with the Venetian Inquisition, and sent a list of interrogatories which were to be applied to Giolito. The scene of the trial now shifts to Venice, where Gabriele was summoned to appear before the Sacred Tribunal in May, 1565. He deposed as follows: "I have three shops, one in Naples, one in Bologna, and one in Ferrara, besides my own shop here in Venice at Rialto. My agent in Naples is a certain Giovanni Battista Capello; before him my agent was Pietro Ludrini, who left me because he said he was going to marry. Since Capello went to Naples I have supplied him with no books from Venice; he has had in Naples the stock in the shop, and also some bales of books which I had entrusted to Messer Stefano Corsini, since dead. I did not give these books to

Ludrini, because I found he was dishonest; nor have I given them all to Capello, because I know that he too is cheating me. I have certainly never sent forbidden books to Naples so far as I am aware; but a copy of the invoices of all consignments to my agents is open to inspection. Perhaps my shopmen may have inadvertently despatched some books on the Index. I have never read the Index; but when it was sent to me I had it placed in all my shops, with orders to clear the stock of all books whose names were on the prohibitory list." When asked if he knew a certain Francesco Spinola, Gabriele replied: "Yes, I have known him for three years, as he used to frequent the Fenice, and eventually stayed in my house as proof-reader and tutor to my son. We never discussed matters of faith, as I do not mix in affairs I do not understand. We parted because Spinola neglected both his proof-reading and his tutorship. Spinola once procured for me a copy of Sleidan's works which Dolce required for his Life of the Emperor Frederick." Gabriele admitted that he had attended the Lent lectures of Bernardino of Siena, and had found them most illuminating. As regards a certain Cesare de Lucca, he had once been in the service of Giolito, but had left him to serve the Giunti. Cesare never showed any dubious opinions in matters of faith, and conformed to the rule of the Giolito household which required all its members to confess and to communicate at least thrice a year. Finally, as a proof that he desired to obey the orders of the Church, and that he had acted *bona fide* in the whole matter, Gabriele produced the memorandum which he had drawn up for Capello's instruction on his departure for Naples. The orders in the memorandum appear to have satisfied the Inquisition, and Giolito's trial proceeded no further; nor did it entail any punishment or evil consequences upon him, though we cannot but be surprised that he should have ventured to plead ignorance of the contents of the Index, when

we remember that he himself had issued the Venetian Index of 1554.

We have followed Gabriele through the details of his business as far as they have been recorded for us by Salvatore Bongi's patient research. It only remains, in conclusion, to give some account of his family and of his private life, which will show him to have been as engaging in his home relations as he was astute and able in his business affairs. In the year 1544 Gabriele married Lucrezia Bini, whose family lived in Venice. Lucrezia herself gives us much information about her relations in the will which she made five years after her marriage. "Considering," she says, "the dangers of this frail life, I have resolved to make this my will. And first I commend my soul to Almighty God, to the Blessed Virgin, and to all the court of heaven. I name as my executors my husband, my mother-in-law, my uncles Benedetto and Giovanni Pietro Bini, my brother Alvise, and my maternal uncles Alvise and Francesco de' Anzoli. I desire to be buried wherever my husband may appoint, but on condition that within two years of my death he shall have erected a tomb for me to lie in. Failing this, I wish my body to be placed in the tomb of my uncles in the Franciscan Church; and until the condition be complied with or neglected my corpse shall be left in some safe depository." After making several legacies, Lucrezia continues: "To my husband I leave as a pledge of love my big ruby, and that is all; for he has no need of aught. The rest of my dower, and all that I may subsequently become possessed of, I leave in equal portions to my children, should I have any. When I depart this life, I wish to be wrapped in the habit of the Madonna of the Conception, for to that guild I belong." Lucrezia's phrase about her children, "*se ne haverò*," leaves some doubt as to whether any had yet been born, or whether those born had died. A letter written by Gabriele to his kinsman, Lelio Montalerio, and dated August 19, 1570,

sufficiently explains the position of the family at that date. "I have two sons," he writes, "one sixteen rising seventeen, the other eight; and I have four daughters, one fifteen, another twelve, another ten, and another seven. This makes up the half-dozen. Another half-dozen are in heaven. That makes twelve in all, and now we intend to rest, if so it shall please God. And may He grant us to live all together till they be old enough to govern themselves without our aid." Under their mother's guidance the Giolito family was brought up in all the exercises of piety. Gabriele's friends in the world of religious letters bear testimony to their appreciation of her rule. Fra Remigio Fiorentino dedicated his translation of the *Imitatio* to Lucrezia, that she might be able to place it in the hands of her youthful family. Tommaso Porcacchi sent a reproduction of the same work to Lucrezia, with a letter in which he praises the piety and discipline of the Giolito household, "which seems a sainted Paradise, made glorious by the beauty and goodness of those little angels who day by day sing psalms and lauds and hymns to the honour of God"; and, making all allowance for the florid emphasis of the period, we can quite believe that the family of Gabriele was distinguished for its piety. We find a sober confirmation of the religious atmosphere in which they lived in the words of Bonaventura Gonzaga, who records the daily celebration of the divine office in a chamber set apart in the house for that purpose.

Among the daughters born to Gabriele and Lucrezia, the one of whom we hear most was called Fenice, doubtless in memory of the famous sign over Gabriele's house. She was born in 1555, and, under her mother's care, became the chief centre of the religious fervor which characterized the family. When a little girl, seven years old, she one day asked her father's friend Fra Remigio to recommend a work which should teach her how to acquire and keep the divine grace.

Remigio replied by publishing, and dedicating to Fenice, Girolamo Sirino's *Modo d'acquistare la Divina Gratia*. Fenice's pious bent of mind acquired force with her growing years, until she at last announced her resolve to become a nun. This occasioned a display of Gabriele's sound sense. Writing to Montalerio, he says: "My eldest girl is fifteen years old, and God has inspired her with the wish to be a nun. Though it is now two years that she has been begging me to place her in a convent, I have always refused my consent until she should have reached a ripe age and shown me that her resolve is permanent. As yet she is at home with the others. But she is to enter a convent for three or four months, and then I will bring her home again for a month more, to see whether her resolve is firm, and whether she likes a convent better than her own home." The experiment was tried; but Fenice's resolve held firm, and she became a nun in the Benedictine convent of Santa Marta.

If Gabriele's sons were employed in their father's business at all, it was not as partners; for Gabriele's name alone continues to appear on the Giolitan title-pages till his death. There is a note of lassitude in the first letter to Montalerio from which we have quoted, and, as it were, a summing up of his life's work by a man who felt that his career was drawing to a close. Old age and weariness were creeping over Gabriele, and showed their presence in the gradual relaxing of that activity which had characterized his press. As to the exact date and cause of Giolito's death we have no information. But it appears that he escaped the plague, which was raging in 1576 and 1577, only to die the year after its cessation. The Corporation Rolls of the Booksellers, Printers, and Binders prove that Gabriele was already dead before March 3, 1578. Nor did his wife survive him long. In the year 1581 their sons Giovanni and Giampolo raised, in the church of Santa Marta, where

Fenice, their sister, was a nun, a monument to the memory of Gabriele and Lucrezia, with this inscription :

GABRIELI IOLITO DE FERRARIIS NOBILI VIRO, ET INTEGRIMO, LVCRETIÆQUE BINÆ MATRI HONESTISSIMÆ IOANNES ET IOANNES PAVLVS FRATRES PARENTIBVS OPTIMIS ET B. M. SIBI IPSIS, AC POSTERIS MONVMENTV̄ HOC PONENDVM CVRARV̄T ANNO DÑI 1581.

Giovanni Giolito, the elder son, assumed the direction of the business; but in the brief space of ten years he too died; and Giampolo became the head of the house. He found the business little to his taste. He allowed the press to remain idle throughout entire years at a time; and the appearance of the Giolitan editions became less and less frequent. Indeed, it would appear that soon after his brother's death Giampolo resolved to withdraw from printing and publishing; and for that purpose he issued the only catalogue of Giolitan editions ever put forth by the firm. The prices were added in order to facilitate the disposal of the stock. In the year 1606, while the Republic was in the very heat of its famous quarrel with Paul V., the Giolitan editions finally ceased, and the famous press, after a brilliant career of seventy years, no longer occupied a place in the annals of Venetian printing.

Cardinal Contarini and his Friends

THE general impression that the influence of Renaissance culture upon Italian society was corrupt is, on the whole, justified. That influence began to show itself distinctly at the opening of the sixteenth century. The period of humanistic study and acquisition had passed; the period of application had begun; and Rome was the focus of the application, as Florence had been the seat of the earlier efforts to acquire. At Rome society gathered round the court of the Vatican and the head of the Church; but it was a Church in which Aretino might aspire to the purple, in which Bandello was a bishop, and della Casa legate and compiler of the first Index. The society was corrupt but eminently refined, displaying a finish and a charm which captivated the gentler temper of men like Erasmus and made them cry that only the floods of Lethe could drown for them the memory of Rome, though in Luther's sterner fibre this refinement merely added disgust to indignation. It is needless to dwell upon this point, it has been made again and again; but we must bear in mind that there did exist a portion of this society which was refined and not corrupt. The nature of men like Contarini, Pole, Sadoleto, Giberti, and their friends stands out with additional sweetness and lustre when we remember the dark setting of intrigue, of dissoluteness, and of ruin which surrounded them. They were a company of noble men animated by noble objects of ambition, and bound together by the closest bonds of friendship. We come across them with a feeling of pure pleasure; they shine like good deeds in an evil world. It does not matter

that they failed in their ecclesiastical policy; that the *via media* which they espoused between the youthful vigour of Protestantism and the corruption of the Roman Church was never adopted; that it exposed them only to suspicion from the Lutherans and to charges of heresy from Farnese and Caraffa; that they foundered between the two great and divergent lines of Reform and counter-Reformation. Their object was a noble one, and it ennobled lives singularly adapted to take the lustre of nobility.

To understand the place of these men in the ecclesiastical policy of the Reformation, it is needful to look a little more closely at the conditions which surrounded them. The aims of the papacy had become secularized in the hands of such mundane and warlike popes as Sixtus, Alexander, and Julius. The desire to found a reigning house and to realize that ever-present, ever-vanishing dream of the Church, a temporal kingdom, determined the policy of these pontiffs, and the Venetian ambassador thus summed up Julius in a despatch to his government: "The pope," he said, "wishes to be the lord and master in this world's game." As the head was, so was the body. The bishops endeavoured to make their sees heritable property—the basis on which to establish a family. The secularization of aim resulted in a secularization of manner. The pope who aspired to be a prince adopted the manners of a prince. The bishops who contemplated founding a house adopted the bearing which became the head of a house. Mundane aspirations induced mundane habits, splendour of life, of dress, of retinue, of board. And again, a Venetian summed up Leo as a pendant to Julius. Julius desired to be lord and master of this life's game. Leo "desired to live." Beyond the immediate region of the Church the Italians had been engaged in breaking open the treasure-house of the dead languages, and the perfume invaded the country. The secularized manners of the churchmen came in contact with a wavering ethical

standard, the outcome of humanism and the free play of intellect that recognized nothing superior to itself. The result of this contact was twofold—a deterioration in the manners, habits, and thoughts of society, and a confirmation of the secular tendency among the clergy. For humanism brought with it scepticism as to the foundations of Christianity, and with this scepticism there arose a doubt whether the Church had any rights other than secular. In Rome this twofold result soon disclosed itself in a brilliant and intellectual atmosphere that was at the same time corrupt. Poets and scholars and accomplished women crowded to the court of the Vatican or to the palaces of cardinals, princes, and ambassadors. Each great house had its clique, its coterie of parasites enjoying the refined sunshine and speculating on the prizes that lay in store should their patron attain to the papacy. To the charm of life was added the zest of a hazard, and the adventurer who sought the favour of this or that prince of the Church secretly prayed that his cardinal might draw the winning number. But at the very moment when the Italians had so prepared life as to be able to enjoy the papacy, should God give it to them, the cup of pleasure slipped from their hands. The refinement and brightening of intelligence which rendered the papacy enjoyable, the secularization of its aims which added a further colour to life's game, were preparing beyond the Alps the very means by which the papacy was to be robbed of all enjoyment, were paving the way for Luther's advent and the sack of Rome. The expansion of intelligence, the discovery of intellectual muscles, and the pleasure experienced in their play, which resulted from these years of humanistic study and training, opened for the ancient and organized people of Italy the door of delightful existence. But the quickening element passed beyond the borders of Italy itself. On the other side of the Alps it found a different nidus, harder and more vigorous, in which to germinate. And so among the Teutonic people the

revival took the character of religious earnestness; let us reform the Church, they cried. In Italy it had taken the aspect of cynical pliability; let us enjoy the Church, said the Italians. The result was Luther's advent with all its compulsive power over the papacy. The schism north of the Alps put into the hands of two great princes, the King of England and the Emperor, a weapon for mastering the papacy so powerful that Clement could not stand against it. At any hostile movement on his part Charles threatened to release Luther; on the first refusal to obey, Henry declared the secession of England. The screw was too powerful, and had bitten only too well. Escape was impossible. It remained to be seen what compromise could do; to test the appeasing efficacy of compromise and reform.

But before reform had become a necessity publicly acknowledged by the Church, there existed inside the Church itself a party of men who had begun to recognize the need, and who turned their thoughts to the question. These men used to meet together for discussion at the Church of SS. Dorothy and Silvester, in the Trastevere, and under the presidency of Padre Dato, its parish priest. In the midst of corrupt and indifferent Rome, of Rome that was enjoying the Papacy, this handful of earnest men had caught an echo of the elemental movement that was in progress beyond the Alps. Reform and not enjoyment was the subject of their thoughts. This company, which met in the gardens of SS. Dorothy and Silvester, called itself "The Oratory of Divine Love." It was composed of men drawn together from various parts of Italy; from Venice, Modena, Vicenza, and Naples; all of them distinguished, but for whom the future reserved widely differing issues. There was John Peter Caraffa, the lean and impetuous Neapolitan, with the fierceness of the Inquisition in his heart, destined to become Paul IV., to wage a hopeless war against Spain, to be forced by circumstances he could not control into the

arms of this power he hated, to die deceived by his nephews and detested by the Church. There was Gaetano Thiene, founder of an order of nobles, enthusiastic in zeal, but of gentler mould and fascinated by the impetuosity of the fiery Neapolitan. There, too, were Contarini and Sadoletto, fast friends through life, working for the same object and sharing the same hopes—a possible compromise with Protestantism and a reunion of the Church under her ancient chief, the pope. In fact, the Oratory of Divine Love contained in miniature the future of the Roman Church. Its tendencies were there, as yet undeveloped. The two lines it might possibly adopt were expressed in the temper of the Oratorians—the line of absolute defiance to Protestantism, of uncompromising and haughty antagonism, of fire and blood and inquisition tortures; and the other line of toleration, of patience, of hope that the lost sheep might yet be won back to the fold. But in the gardens by the Tiber the companions were still undivided, unconscious of the heart-burnings and the cruelty at one another's hands which lay in store for them; no Luther had yet come among them with a sword of separation. It is only by the light of subsequent history that we see how they met later on, when the divergence of their natures had become marked under the pressure of the growing schism; how that fierce monk Caraffa, drinking his thick black wine, his "champ-the-battle," as he called it, turned in fury on his former friends; how he thwarted Contarini at Ratisbon; how Sadoletto's Commentary was placed upon the Index; how Pole was deprived of his office of legate in England; how even their humble followers were pursued; how Priuli lost the bishopric of Brescia. We do not, however, intend to follow all the members of the Oratory to the close of their divergent ways, but only that party among them which gathered round Contarini, the party of moderation and compromise, the party also of failure. Nor is it in their public life and their ecclesiastical policy

that we wish to look closely at these men ; that belongs to the general history of the counter-Reformation. It is rather to their inner lives that we would turn and note, if possible, the manner of men these friends appear among themselves.

It would be a difficult, and almost a hopeless task, to extract the essence of these men, had not both Pole and Sadoletto left a copious correspondence behind them. In their letters, through the obscurity of a foreign tongue, we see themselves and their friends taking shape acting and reacting on one another, growing nearer together as the years pass by. "I seem to hear your voice speaking to me out of your last letter," writes Sadoletto to Pole. "My letters to you have apparently miscarried. They reached you either later than they should have done, or else not at all. But whatever betide the letters, it is not in paper and ink that our love resides, but rather in the hearts of both of us ; and not merely written there, but inburnt, so that it can never be obliterated." And these phrases of affection pass current among them all. They were, in sympathy, one at heart. The common trials and dangers which beset them bound them closely together. Each one of them suffered misfortune. Contarini saw his country barely escaping from the ruin of Cambray. Pole was an exile with a price upon his head. Sadoletto experienced the fluctuations of court favour and disgrace. Not one of them avoided the imputation of heresy. And it was inevitable that it should be so. The intellectual aspect of Luther's reform, the distinctly rational assertion of free judgment, could not fail to appeal to the cultivated Italians brought up on Aristotle at the feet of Pomponazzo. It was only the narrowest margin which distinguished Contarini and his friends from Castelvetri, the excommunicated outlaw, driven to the mountains to save his life, and dying at length in exile at Chiavenna. And when Sadoletto made his last effort on Castelvetri's behalf he, though a cardinal, appeals to the heretic as

a man of letters first, as a good churchman last. "I love you on every score, and cannot believe that you hold any opinion unworthy of a man of letters and a good Christian." The reasons which kept these men just inside the Church were twofold. They were already high in the office of that Church, and the wish of their hearts was not to pass outside themselves, but to bring the wanderers in. Another and profounder reason held them where they were. The economy of the Church, so complete in its details, so precise in its gradations of rank and of duties, could not fail to exercise a strong fascination over the Italian temper, which desires form above everything. And now this satisfying symmetry was threatened with destruction; its very crown and apex was in danger; a many-headed Church appeared to be no Church at all. It was Henry's declaration of himself as chief of the English Church which compelled Pole to choose exile rather than obedience. With the theological and philosophical doctrines, however, of the reformers these friends showed a deep sympathy which continually made itself felt in their writings. And this common attitude towards the great question of their day—an impossible attitude, and doomed to failure just because it appreciated too accurately the good and the evil on both sides—formed the groundwork upon which the affection of these men was based. This is the sphere within which they exercised their finest qualities, their warm friendship and loyalty, their intellectual keenness, their devotion to high and noble studies. Within this region they differed, as even the best friends must differ, in cast of character; each of them displayed his individual temperament; but within this region also they were sure of one another's sympathy, and stood together as a party.

It is round Contarini that the party gathers; he is the most active and the most distinguished of their number. Born in 1483 of noble Venetian parents, an October child, when eighteen years of age he went

to the University of Padua. With characteristic impetuosity of temper he attacked both practical and speculative studies—mathematics, engineering, and philosophy; and gave solid proofs of his ability to use them all. On his return to Venice he was employed by the government to regulate the river courses throughout the difficult country of Bassano. It is said that when he was in Spain, representing Venice at the court of Charles, Magellan's ship, the *Victory*, came home after her voyage round the world, laden with cloves gathered in the Spice Islands. The *Victory* arrived a day later than her log-book showed, and Contarini alone was found able to explain what had become of the missing day. The temper of his mind, the Venetian mind, was chiefly practical; and the larger part of his life was spent in active political duties, for Venice first, and then for the Church. Writing to a friend, he says his letters are not intended for circulation: "They are scribbled in haste by a busy man."

But Contarini never lost his interest in philosophy, nor the passion for Aristotle, which consumed him when he first went to Padua. His friends used to say that if the whole of the Stagyrte's works were lost, Contarini could supply them all again from memory. And it may well have been so, for his biographer and constant friend, Beccadello, tells us that he was in the habit of reading Aristotle for seven continuous years three or four hours a day, and then during his afternoon walk he "ruminated" on the subject of his morning's study, reconstructing the whole chain of argument until it was indelibly impressed upon his mind. And philosophy remained for him a constant source of relaxation and delight after the more pressing engagements of his political career. "You ask me," he writes to a friend, "for my opinion on the relation between the mind and the understanding. Till now I have been too deeply occupied by my duties in the Council of Ten. But to-night, Christmas Eve, I am

free, and shall take some recreation and no small pleasure in discussing the point with you. Moreover, meditation on this subject is by no means unsuited to the solemn nature of the day." Then he passes on to the topic, and loses himself in a lofty flight which closes in the nature of the Divine. He forgets the Ten and his political duties in the eternal consolations of a philosophy based on faith, in the happiness of a man whose hopes and whose reason are not divorced. Study and writing, however, were the rare pleasures and not the constant occupation of Contarini's life, and he valued them more highly for their rarity. "I know no better means for whiling away a summer's afternoon than listening to the music of some mighty poet." Poetry and philosophical discussion were a relief and a delight, but writing was a veritable passion with the man. He lost his appetite and his sleep; he wandered about restless and alone, while planning a work in his head. His friends could always tell when the labour was upon him and he was about to produce. After he had once seen and grasped his subject, he wrote with the greatest fury and rapidity, as much as six pages in an hour, so hurriedly, indeed, that "many words remained in his pen." Having thus discharged his mind, he handed the whole work over to a secretary, to polish, rewrite, and find the missing words. He absolutely refused to touch his thoughts again, partly, no doubt, from lack of time, partly from indifference to the graces of style and from pre-occupation with the matter of his work, partly also owing to a slight impatience with the laboured polish of his contemporaries Sadoletto and Bembo. His style suffered from this haste, but his health suffered more owing to this addiction to the passionate pleasure of writing. He became subject to insomnia; sleeping but little, and never after he had wakened from his first sleep. These night vigils were devoted to the study of St. Augustine, or to the solution of some problem in ethics. "Here I am," he writes,

"awake in one of these long winter nights, as so often happens to me; and I turn my thoughts to the consideration of your question, which are the nobler, the speculative or the moral qualities?"

With a temper keen and impetuous, we should expect to find that Contarini possessed a certain amount of fearlessness and the courage of his opinions. And, indeed, he always did display a frankness of manner and directness of speech little in accordance with the courtly habits of the Vatican. Though choleric, he never allowed his temper to pass beyond his control; and his real gentleness of nature, and his unswerving loyalty to his friends, bound them to him in the closest attachment. Pole consulted him about his private affairs in England. "Keep a good heart," answers Contarini, "and do not doubt that the day will come when we shall sing the psalm, 'Glad were we for the days in which we saw evil, for the years wherein Thou hast humiliated us.' . . . I have no time to write except to say, keep well and come back soon to the man who loves you more than any other." It was not his friends only who knew the worth of the man; that was only natural. But perhaps no one in that age of difficult and crooked policy had a greater power of inspiring confidence than Contarini. The Venetians knew very well what they were about when they sent him as their ambassador to the court of Charles, with whom their relations were strained and hostile. And Contarini immediately won the regard of the emperor and retained it. Charles took Contarini with him when he made his hurried visit to England, and had not forgotten him when they met once more at Bologna, at Nice, and at Ratisbon. The mixture of frankness, goodness, and grace which characterized Contarini, made him a singularly lovable man—one to whom people turned with a sense of confidence and rest; and his modesty and simplicity in no way lessened his charm. There is a pretty story told of how he met

Margaret, the Queen of Navarre, at Nice when the pope and Francis and Charles were trying to arrange their differences. Contarini went, as in duty bound, to pay his respects to Margaret. The queen came from her rooms towards the head of the stairs to meet him, and the cardinal was about to kneel and kiss her hand, when the lady ran forward laughing, and crying, "No, no, not to me," took him by both his hands and kissed him on the cheek. Contarini stood blushing like a boy, and all confused, till one of the bystanders told him with a laugh that such was the *dolce costume* of Navarre.

It was from his own countrymen, however, and early in life that his worth received the highest tribute of praise. Contarini was in Venice, actively engaged in the business of the Republic. He had just returned from an embassy to Rome, and was looking forward to a long life in the secular service of his native city, when Paul III. determined to raise him to the cardinalate and to summon him to Rome in order to initiate those reforms of the Church which the progress of Luther made imperative. Contarini, unaware of the honour in store for him, was at his place in the Great Council when the pope's messenger arrived on Sunday morning and requested to see him. This, while the council was in session, could not be allowed; but a secretary took the despatches, and, opening them, suddenly announced to Contarini that he had been raised to the purple. The counsellors rose in a body and pressed forward to congratulate their colleague. But one of them, Alvise Mocenigo, was not so easily pleased; he could not rise from his seat with the others, as he was suffering from the gout, but above the buzz and patter of congratulation he cried, "These priests have robbed us of the best gentleman this city has." Old Mocenigo's growl was fully justified; Venice was struggling to repair the mischief wrought by the League of Cambray, and nothing could have been more useful to her than the

tact, the firmness, and the popularity of Contarini. But she lost him ; and that activity which might have been employed to good purpose in the service of Venice was transferred, with no result but failure, to the service of the Church.

Contarini was no sluggard ; the change of climate did not change his temper. He no sooner reached Rome than he began to form his party, clearly understanding the objects for which he had been summoned thither. He had made the acquaintance of Pole in Venice. He now called Pole, Sadoletto, Giberti, Aleandro, and Cortese to his aid ; and, in spite of bitter opposition and jealousy inside the Sacred College, he pressed the proposals for reform. The College endeavoured to crush the new-comer with scorn. "Had Contarini come from the Senate of Venice to reform the cardinals whose very names he did not know?" That was true. Contarini did not know their names ; but he had been beyond the Alps, and knew better than any of them the strength of Luther's party and the imperative need for purification inside the Church. Yet his enemies were able to poison the ear, though not the mind, of the pope against him. "I know how it is," said Paul to the cardinal while the latter was remonstrating with him on some of his recent creations ; "it is in the very nature of cardinals to be jealous lest others should be made their equals in consideration." "Pardon me," replied Contarini, "your Holiness cannot with justice bring this charge against me, for I have suggested the appointment of many who have proved good servants to your Holiness and the Church. And indeed I do not count my hat my chiefest honour. . . . If your Holiness would make the Church fair to see, publish no more decrees ; there are enough ; but rather set forth living books who shall give voice and expression to these decrees." This was Contarini's appeal that his hands might be strengthened by the admission of his friends to the Sacred College. To the credit of

Paul, he did not take umbrage at a frankness so unwonted in the court of St. Peter, but read the earnest sincerity of the man. He commissioned Contarini and his friends to draw up a scheme of reform; and the result of their meetings was the famous *Advice of the Select Cardinals*, which Sadoletto latined in such vigorous style. This document is the most singular monument to Contarini's courage. He struck fearlessly at the root of the evil—at the College itself, at the boy bishops, at the absentee and pluralist cardinals, and at the monastic orders whose entire suppression he advocated. But all his zeal was in vain. The *Advice* was read and shelved; the hydra of abuse did not lose a single head.

And in the midst of these absorbing public occupations Contarini was ceaselessly engaged in literary correspondence with his friends; in reading, emending, and annotating the work submitted to him by Bembo, Sadoletto, or Pole. Busy, too, with treatises of his own on Free-will, Justification, Predestination, the authority of the pope, written with such outspoken frankness and with such deep sympathy for the Lutheran point of view, that it is a marvel how they escaped the Index Expurgatorius. Nor did all this engagement make him bate one jot of his activity on his friends' behalf. He hears that Pole is in want of cash; by the next post his friend learns that the pope will increase his salary. For Sadoletto's sake he undertakes the cause of the poor peasants at Carpentras against the Jews. But if he willingly expends himself for his friends' behoof, he claims that they, too, shall not be dilatory nor self-indulgent. His letters calling them to Rome and the service of the Church shook Pole and Sadoletto in their peaceful study at Carpentras. Both felt and obeyed the compulsion of this vigorous and loving man.

The failure of Contarini's hopes of reform and the collapse of the *Advice* did not extinguish his activity. And when Charles proposed the Diet of

Ratisbon, and asked the pope to send Contarini as legate, the cardinal, though fifty-eight years old, gladly embraced the opportunity of attempting once more the task of reconciliation and compromise. At the end of January he left Rome, and, to the horror of his attendants, he pressed straight on across the Apennines above Bologna, though they lay deep in snow. "We arrived here," writes one of his retinue from Bologna, "all of us pierced through with cold, which accompanied us the whole way, and will not leave us yet awhile. The Padre Beccadello, though smothered in a mountain of furs, looked as if he would have perished of the frost." But Contarini never complained. His eyes were fixed on Ratisbon, and his thoughts were occupied by a vision of the Church made once again through his endeavours. Pole had followed the same road two years before on his way to Spain, but with fainter hopes and a feebler courage. "The fine weather," he wrote to Contarini, "has allowed us to cross the Apennines, but the cold on the mountains actually burned us. The passage would have been impossible had there been rain or snow." Contarini would not have admitted such an "impossible," but he did not know the greater difficulties that waited him in Ratisbon, difficulties which defied even his powers of gentleness and zeal to overcome. When the work of the Diet was once begun he made rapid progress towards a reconciliation with the Protestants, and differences seemed to be vanishing under the charm of his treatment. But every step in that direction only rendered the consummation of his desire more hopeless. Luther suspected such a facile agreement; Charles dreaded a Germany united and catholic once more through the labours of the pope; at Rome Caraffa inveighed against compromise, and accused Contarini of heresy; the treacherous offers of Francis to the one party and the other induced both Protestant and Roman to hope that concession might be avoided. The legate's task was an impossible

one. Inspired by Caraffa, Cardinal Farnese wrote a long despatch to Contarini, in which the latter could not fail to read the ruin of his prospects. "Bear yourself cautiously, and do not be drawn to assent to any proposition through the hope of accord. In the exposition of doctrine let us have no ambiguity. And finally, if you will allow me to sum up all in a word, do not conduct yourself so frankly as to run the risk of being gulled by our enemies." Such was the temper of Rome, and this despatch was the warrant of Contarini's failure. He returned to Italy and found his acquaintances cold towards him. "What are these monstrous articles to which you have subscribed at the bidding of the Lutherans?" said one. "That is only some squib of Pasquin; do not believe it." "Pardon, this is no squib. I read it in a letter from a great cardinal." So the Church which he had tried to serve refused to acknowledge his efforts. Only his friends drew closer to his side, and their letters came faster and fuller of affection as the end approached. Contarini was sent as legate to Bologna in 1542, the year after the Diet of Ratisbon. The summer heats began to rage with great fierceness, and he retired to S. M. del Monte above the town. In the monastery there was a *loggia* looking northwards across the Lombard fields towards the Alps, which were just visible in the distance, a fine and serrated line of snow above the tropical shimmer and haze of the plain. Here Contarini loved to sit and talk and feel the cooler breeze. But the keen wind gave him a chill and threw him into a fever. He knew at once that he was dying. Beccadello, his faithful attendant, tried to cheer him. "Do not think of this; let the doctors see to it; only get well and we will set out on our mission to the emperor." "Before another and a greater Emperor I must present myself this day." He was, as always, only too wise, says his biographer; he died that same evening, fifty-nine years old.

If Contarini proved himself vigorous in the political

life which he adopted, his friend Sadoleto was hardly less so in his own particular way. It is part of the charm of this company of Contarini that each member displays his own distinctive features clearly marked ; though all are bound together by affection and sympathy. Sadoleto is first and foremost a man of letters. He cannot help regarding Rome from the humanist point of view ; he is one with Erasmus in the colour of his indignation at the sack of the Eternal City. "O barbariem inauditam ! Quæ fuit unquam tanta Scytharum, Quadorum, Wandalorum, Hunnorum, Gothorum, immanitas ?" Sadoleto wished to contemplate Rome from a distance ; to focus it through the line of its classical history ; to see it through the emotional atmosphere of all the ages and of all learning. To be compelled to deal with Rome as the seat of the Sacred College, as the home of the pontiff at war with Luther, destroyed the illusion. Therefore Sadoleto escaped from Rome whenever he saw his opportunity. He escaped to plunge himself among his books in his see of Carpentras ; to lose himself in the region that he loved, the study of the classics and the conversation of his friends. Not that he was cold-hearted to the Church ; he was willing to labour for her ; but she did not fill and brim his whole sphere of vision as was the case with Contarini. When his friend Pole failed in his legation to France, Sadoleto wrote to him with hardly concealed indifference. "I was sorry to learn that your mission has failed, but I take it the less to heart, as I always foresaw the issue. Only come back safe and sound to us." He was a scholar and a good friend, but hardly a politician or a churchman. He knew that politics were not his region ; and when, under the pressure of Contarini, he did mix in affairs he chose the pen, the weapon that came the readiest to his hand. But we never can read far in his epistles before we find him abandoning the discussion of events to cry, "Veniamus ad litteras." The criticism, the correction, and the composition of

books were the main passion of life for Sadoletto ; for Contarini they were luxuries to be enjoyed but sparingly. Yet the gravity and weight of Sadoletto's style fully justified his choice. And this engine of vigorous diction which he perfected, he devoted almost entirely to the service of the Church. Within his chosen sphere of literature he was a diligent servant. But as he grew older this literary temper and its claim upon him grew stronger. "I wish to devote the rest of my life to study," he writes to Farnese. "I therefore think of giving up my diocese ; I only long for peace and quiet anywhere. I renounce Carpentras and my gardens ; only give me quiet, be it where you will." This quiet for which he prayed was employed in no ignoble manner. It was then the custom to pass books in manuscript from hand to hand among the friends of the author. Criticism and correction were invited, and this led to a continual correspondence upon literary topics. Sadoletto's study in his *villa suburbana* at Carpentras was one of the centres of this activity, one of the fires of the literary forge. And he was happiest when he was thus employed in company with some congenial spirit. He caught Pole once on his return from one of his many embassies, and we can see from their correspondence how happy they were together. Sadoletto preludes to Pole : "I have not written before because I know that you are in receipt of all our news. My love for you, however, requires the verification of no letters. Only come back safe and sound to me." Then Pole follows to Contarini : "I am here in Carpentras, living in a monastery, a place solitary and devout ; moreover, quite close to the gardens of Sadoletto, whither I go at least once a week to spend the whole day" ; and again : "These politics prevent me from enjoying to the full the delightful and tranquil company of Sadoletto. Here, however, is an admirable solitude ; and were it not for the letters from Rome we should have no news at all."

Pole, the most feminine spirit of the three, was

continually swayed between the stronger characters of his friends Contarini and Sadoletto. On this occasion Contarini broke in upon their peace with cries and claims of duty. Pole had to face the French legation, and the happiest months of his life, those spent with Sadoletto at Carpentras, came to an end. But it was not literary work solely which occupied Sadoletto's days in his bishopric. He was a man capable of the strongest personal attachments when the object was brought within his immediate reach. All that lay beyond his direct perception, and which yet commanded his regard, he transferred to a region of emotion other than personal, into an atmosphere that was artistic or intellectual. But his personal feelings were rendered all the stronger for this concentration. His affections are the affections of an artist accustomed to deal with the whole sphere of emotion as the matter of his art, and who suddenly finds his familiarity with passion translated into terms of himself and overmastering. But it is just in these burning moments of his heart that the true nobility and gentleness of Sadoletto most appear. He has left one love-letter behind him, through which the deep current of a genuine affection flows unmistakably. It does not appear to whom it was addressed; but he says, "I have never ceased to love you. Yet, since it is the wont of lovers to be ever anxious on behalf of those they love, I wish to enjoin on you one thing which both my love and your youth recommend; strive, without any appearance of vain glory, but in wisdom and modesty, to approve yourself among your company. I, as beseems my love for you, and my ever-constant wish in all that affects you, promise and dedicate to you, to your well-being and adornment, whatever belongs to me; my every effort, forethought, influence, authority, diligence, all, in short, that nature or fortune has bestowed on me, however trifling it may be, is yours for all time; not only on my word as an honourable man, but on the faith and evidence of this letter wherewith, as by a

solemn pact, I desire to be bound to you." With such a well of affection in his nature, Sadoletto could not miss the warm attachment of his friends. But his lot was cast in troublous times for a scholar and a recluse. He experienced the changes and caprices of favour and disgrace, and was forced to undertake no less than five journeys between Rome and Carpentras. Thanks to one of these, he escaped, by twenty days, the sack of the Eternal City and all the horrors it brought upon his learned friends. But these long and dangerous expeditions broke in upon his leisure and seriously embarrassed his affairs, and towards the close of his life he found himself in extreme poverty. "I am so utterly poor," he writes, "that I cannot make even a four days' journey in a manner becoming to a cardinal. Horses or mules I have none." But his poverty could not purchase him seclusion. He lived to see his friends die away one by one; to hear that his Commentary on St. Paul was condemned and placed upon the Index; to be torn from his study by an imperious summons to Rome, where he died in his house by San Pietro in Vincola, seventy years of age.

The third of this trio of friends, Reginald Pole, "the gentle cardinal," the *spirito angelico*, "my Saint Pole," as Sadoletto calls him, was at once the least powerful and the most femininely attractive of the three. It is not only his gentleness—a gentleness which led him to shelter the man who tried to assassinate him—nor yet his misfortunes, his own exile, and his mother's execution that engage our sympathy. It is the sweetness and sprightliness of his character which are so attractive; for Pole, the Englishman, is the only one of the three friends who shows a grain of humour. Cast among strangers whom he had to make his friends, whom he desired above all to have as his friends, it is touching to watch him struggling with the barrier of language between them. In his early letters he sometimes attempts Italian. He halts along for a sentence or so,

and then reverts to the more formal but more familiar Latin. Gradually, however, the barrier was broken down, and Pole learned to use Italian freely. Before the disgrace of himself and the ruin of his whole family, Pole had come to study at Padua, after leaving Oxford. He had an income of nine hundred pounds a year, and lived as became a nobleman and a relation of the King of England. On his return home the question of the king's divorce placed him on the horns of a dilemma—obedience to the king and rupture with the Church, or exile. Pole chose the latter alternative, and remembering his days of study in the Venetian city, he made his way to Padua once more. It was upon this second visit that he formed an intimacy with his friends Contarini and Priuli, and also with the man who afterwards proved his foe, Caraffa the Neapolitan. Contarini at once established an ascendancy of affection over the gentle Englishman; and it was between the political impulse of Contarini and the literary impulse of Sadoletto that Pole spent the greater part of his life in Italy. When Contarini was summoned to Rome to undertake the work of reform, he called Pole, among other friends, to his aid; and Pole appears as "the English cardinal" among the signatories of the *Advice*. Pole had never enjoyed robust health, and the strain of work in Rome made him glad to escape whenever possible. Contarini was well aware of his friend's delicate constitution, and anxiously urged him to pay more heed to his physical condition, and to keep himself efficient for the service of the Church. And thereupon followed a humorous correspondence. Contarini recommends a fish diet, and above all attention to the advice of Priuli and his Italian friends, who understand the climate. Pole replies, "You have now commissioned Priuli to act as a keeper of my health and arbiter of my goings; but he began to use his authority after so cavalier a fashion that my horse, which he had borrowed, guessed my feelings towards

him and gave him a fall; since then I find him much milder. But, joking apart, travelling tries me severely. The wind and open air, to which I have not been accustomed for some months, give me a fever; and that attacks me chiefly at night." This same Priuli is the man who, of all others, was most deeply attached to Pole. From the time when they first met in Venice Priuli never left his friend. His villa near Treviso was always open to Pole; and thither Pole retired when in need of rest, or, as in the middle of the Council of Trent, in search of health. Priuli was with him on his many legations; with him too at his palace of Lambeth during the two years that Pole was Archbishop of Canterbury; and when Pole died, "Alvise Priuli, for twenty years my tried friend," was left his heir and executor. In spite of the joke about the horse, and his unwillingness to be drilled, Pole had the good sense to listen to Priuli's recommendations, and from his next letter, written to Contarini from Piacenza, it is clear that he has profited. "Again! another letter on the same subject! Do you think you have no weight with me that you must follow up the first by a second? But from this I learn how anxious all love must needs be. I cannot deny that my strength has greatly benefited by listening to your advice, and I am not only well, but even in robust health. We stop here a whole day, a thing I have never done before upon the journey. I am left alone in the house, as my people have all gone out to see the town. So I take up my pen once more that I may spend the time with you." It was partly his delicate health, partly his poverty—for all his English fortune had been confiscated—partly, too, a constitutional shyness and shrinking from publicity, which made Pole dislike and avoid these official journeys. He came only too willingly to the lure of Sadoletto's gardens at Carpentras, and loudly bewailed the hardship which compelled him to quit them for a journey into France. And, later on, he writes as legate from

Viterbo to Contarini, explaining how he likes to live: "I use my morning hours in study, and am therefore very jealous of them. Business comes after dinner, and the rest of the day is devoted to the company of Messer Carnesechi and Antonio Flaminio. If only you were here this place would be a paradise on earth. Your absence is the sole drawback to my complete satisfaction. But were I to judge from my past experience of the way in which God has ordered my goings, I should have reason to doubt whether this full measure of quiet could be mine for long." It is only in the company of a friend or of a friend's volume that he can forget the tedium of the road. "Your book," he writes to Sadoletto, "was carriage, and springs, and companion to me, so much did it ease my journey." Pole never could see a monastery without wishing to seek rest inside its walls; he constantly speaks of himself as though he were a hunted deer running for the shelter of a cloister, be it at Dilingen, at Carpentras, or on the Lake of Garda. He is happy when he escapes from Rome to the country; he is happy at Viterbo in the company of Flaminio, the poet of the country; or at Rovollon, among the Euganean hills, "our paradise, as I can truly call this place, both because of the charm of its situation amid these delicious hills, and also, and much more, because of the friends whose society I here enjoy"; happy, too, at Dandolo's villa, "*ubi jucunde et hilare epulati sumus.*" Pole was made for the frank enjoyment and companionship of his friends in all the quiet and refined conditions of life, but not for the bustle and self-assertion of the great world. Whether it was the poverty of his health, or that the tragedy of his house was ever present to his memory, this instinctive shrinking accompanied him through life. It showed itself in his refusal of the cardinalate—a refusal which compelled the pope to take him, as it were, by surprise, first appearing to consent, and then, on the morning of the Consistory, causing him to be tonsured,

consecrated, and declared a cardinal before he well knew what had happened to him. It showed itself later on, when he declined to urge his candidature for the tiara; and in the indifference with which he learned that he had missed it by a single vote, an indifference that irritated a member of the Sacred College into calling him *un pezzo di legno* to his face. But Pole was not wooden in insensibility; he had his objects of desire. He longed, as most men do, for what he never did possess, quiet and the enjoyment of his friends. Caraffa pursued him as he pursued all who belonged to Contarini and the party of conciliation. Pole missed the pain of seeing England break with his Church once more. He and Queen Mary died in 1548, on the same day; but Pole closed his career under a cloud of suspicion at Rome, deprived of his office as legate, and threatened in his see; the youngest, the gentlest, and the most unfortunate in this trio of Contarini and his friends.

These three men differed widely from one another; though chance threw them together in a close and beautiful intimacy. The happiest of Pole's days were passed in Italy. There, in contact with the friends he had made, his character is at its brightest and its best. Pole's Italian sojourn, however, is no more than an episode in his story. His real life centres in England. In England he experienced the misfortunes of his youth; and there the dark story of the persecutions from Canterbury gathers about his last years. In England he was called on to face the crucial trials of his career. Sadoletto's life could hardly have had a different issue. He was a scholar and a recluse by nature, and the difficulties of the times made his high station a certain source of unhappiness. Yet among these three friends Sadoletto's character presents the greatest harmony and completeness. For Contarini the problem was rather different. He was endowed with a burning activity of spirit, and a natural bias in two directions, towards philosophical study and

towards politics. The fact that he was a Venetian determined him rather as a man of action than as a speculator. But, having adopted the career of politics, his philosophical bias avenged itself and compelled him to pursue a line of compromise. Such a line was an impossible one, and doomed to failure between Luther, Caraffa, Charles, and Francis. Had he not been a philosopher Contarini might have been a politician of the type of Caraffa; had he been less of a politician he might have been a speculator in the school of Pomponazzo, and a possible precursor of Bruno. Through his intellectual sympathies he felt the tumult and the doubt of this period of change, and his sleepless nights are witness to the questionings of his soul. The interest of his life and the pathos of his failure lay in this, that he was at once something more and something less than a politician or a philosopher. He reflected faithfully the period of transition and the complexity of his own day.

The Marriage of Ibraim Pasha

AN EPISODE AT THE COURT OF SULTAN MURAD III.,
1586¹

TOWARDS the close of the sixteenth century the Ottoman Empire had begun to show signs of decline. In the year 1574, the sultan, Selim the Drunkard, died, and was succeeded by his son, Murad III. The new sultan's person, his physical condition, his tastes and his habits are described, with some slight variations, by the representatives of foreign powers at the Porte. The picture is not a pleasant one. "The sultan is of medium height," says Ungnad, the imperial ambassador, "not stout; his body flaccid; his eyes languid and protruding, covered by enormous eyebrows. He wears a long, straggling reddish beard." His thinness is attributed to an abuse of opium, or, as Knolles reported, of absinthe, and to his intemperance in other matters, which rendered him subject to the falling sickness, or epilepsy. He was twenty-eight years old, but had the air of a professor rather than of a general. He was something of a poet, and was passionately fond of mechanical toys, such as clocks and watches which showed the movements of the celestial bodies. He loved to pass his days in a garden, entertained by conjurers, mimes, buffoons. At sunset he would rise and retire to the harem, saying, "Thanks be to God who has allowed me to get through another day not

¹ This account of Ibraim's marriage is based upon the despatches of the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople, hitherto inedited.

so badly." A man very different from his father, the brutal but vigorous Selim.

At his accession to the throne Murad found one minister, the Grand Vizir Sokolli, who was able to maintain the dignity of the Ottoman Empire, and to prevent its inherent weakness from becoming too patent to the world. But Sokolli's influence waned; Murad's favourites succeeded in ousting the great statesman, and his place was taken by the cultivated but corrupt Scemsi Pasha. Scemsi claimed descent from the family of Kizil Ahmedlû, and vaunted a lineage more noble than that of the reigning family. An interesting anecdote, which illustrates the manners of the period and the bitterness of family feud, is narrated by the historian Aali. Aali one day found himself in Scemsi's house when the favourite had just left the sultan. Scemsi was radiant with pleasure, and, turning to his majordomo, he said, "At last I have avenged the royal line of Kizil Ahmedlû on the Osmanlis; their doom is fixed." "How is that?" said the majordomo. "I have persuaded the sultan to accept a bribe. His example will spread, and will ruin the state." Whereupon Aali, who was standing by, broke in, "Your Excellency is a worthy descendant of your ancestor Caled Ben Welid, who, as the story tells us, bribed his way to the presence of the calif, and so began the seduction of Islam"; to which Scemsi, in confusion, replied, "Ah! Aali, you know too much." The course of the episode we are relating, the marriage of Ibraim Pasha to the sultan Murad's daughter, will prove how right both Scemsi and Aali were in their observations.

Perhaps nothing about the court of Murad is more surprising than the fact, abundantly illustrated by the Venetian ambassador's despatches, that almost all the persons of importance were either renegade Christians or Jews. To begin with, the favourite and powerful sultana Ssaffije (the Pure) was a lady

of the Venetian family of Baffo, whose father had been Governor of Corfu, from which island she was stolen when quite a child, and placed in the harem of Murad. Among the vizirs, we find Sokolli, the grand vizir, was a Bosnian; Piale, a Hungarian; the captain of the sea, the famous Ulugi or Occhiali, a Calabrian; the chief of the janizaries, a very important post, the Genoese Cigala.

The Jews did not occupy so prominent a place at court, though their back-stair influence was very great. Hardly any business was transacted without their interposition; in all diplomatic negotiations we find Jews acting as intermediaries, sounding the ground and promising bribes. No ambassador of a Christian power dreamed of carrying on his diplomatic transactions without the assistance of a Jew: Benveniste, for example, acted for the King of Spain and for the Venetian Republic, David Passi for the English agent, Angeli for the Swiss. One of the most important personages at the Porte was the Jew Salomon Eschinasi. All ambassadors found it necessary to make presents to Chieraggia, the Jewess, purveyor-general to the Sultan's harem.

Various reasons contributed to confer upon the Jews this exceptional position. First of all, they were not Christians, and their presence did not defile. They were doctors, and in the exercise of their profession they had ready access to the houses of the great officers of state. They were money-lenders and jewellers, and the Turks, in their love for precious stones, were obliged to have frequent recourse to the Jews. They were astronomers, and the more superstitious Turks applied to them for information about the future; we hear of an observatory sunk down at the bottom of a deep well, so as to allow of the diurnal observation of the stars. But, above all, the Jews displayed that pliant and insinuating servility which is so characteristic of their race. On a great occasion of state, such as the circumcision of the sultan's eldest son, the

Jews did not refuse to take part in ribald comedies, and submitted to play buffoon to the assembly.

Among the many foreigners who rose to prominence upon the accession of Murad III. was the renegade Christian, Ibraim. He was a Slav by birth; his native city was Kanischa, near Ragusa. While still a lad he had been presented to the sultan Selim by one of the pashas. Selim placed Ibraim in the harem, and caused him to be educated with his own son, the future sultan Murad, to whom he was attached as servant. To the intimate relations thus formed between Murad and Ibraim the latter owed his subsequent advance. When Murad ascended the throne, Ibraim was made a pasha, and was sent as governor to Cairo.

Ibraim was then thirty-seven years old; of medium height, with a dark complexion, a brown beard, bright eyes, and a quick intelligence. He possessed grace of manner and charm of speech. He was, however, extremely ambitious, and, as he saw his ambitions realized, he developed a haughtiness of bearing which, as the Venetian ambassador declared, made it impossible to transact business with him.

Ibraim's appointment to Cairo gave him the opportunity for amassing wealth, which he knew to be indispensable at the Porte, especially for those no longer young. Egypt was an enormously rich storehouse to plunder. At the accession of Murad, the governor was the eunuch Mesih Pasha; he was merely cruel, not rapacious. But his successor, Hassan Pasha, owed his downfall to the excessive wealth which he had wrung out of the suffering province. He laboured for others, however. A sudden order from Constantinople recalled him. He obeyed, leaving his treasure behind him, and on his arrival at the capital he was confined in the Seven Towers. Ibraim received the vacant appointment. No sooner had he reached Cairo than he took possession of Hassan's treasure, and so industrious

was he in pursuit of wealth that, when an order of the Sultan recalled him to the capital a year and a half later, he returned to Constantinople with fabulous riches.

Ibraim was commissioned by Murad to reduce the Druses, on his way home to Constantinople. He did so partly by treachery and partly by superior force. To render his return more triumphant, he sent on before him four hundred heads, all of which he said were those of Druses slain in battle, though fears were expressed at Constantinople that some of these ghastly trophies were the heads, not of Druses, but of Ibraim's own Turkish troops, many of whom fell before the hardy mountaineers. So far all had prospered with Ibraim. On his return to Constantinople he began to employ his riches in the recognized way, by making presents to the sultan; among others, we hear of a richly jewelled throne, and one great emerald in the rough, so large that eight flat emeralds about the size of an eyeglass were cut from it. But whether the result of these presents was that which Ibraim desired is more than doubtful; for, a very few days after his return home, the sultan sent to inform the pasha that he had resolved to give him his daughter in marriage, and that the wedding festival should be held "in the time of the roses," the month of May.

This was a great honour, no doubt, but a dubious satisfaction. It was impossible to decline to marry the sultan's daughter; and yet her rank was so exalted that her husband could no longer enjoy the same freedom in his domestic arrangements as was permitted to less favoured Turks. Not merely were the more exotic pleasures of the seraglio denied him, but he was compelled to a monogamic existence, upon pain of his fortune, perhaps of his very life. If the honoured subject could succeed in retaining the sultan's favour, there were compensations for these drawbacks. Thanks to his near connection with the

calif, he was supposed to possess great influence, and became the recipient of large sums of money, presented to him for favours sought.

When Ibraim received the message of the sultan, nothing remained for him but to obey, and to begin the preparations for his marriage. He presented gifts to those who brought him the news, and proceeded at once to kiss the sultan's hand. His next step was to choose his best man and best woman—his *compadre* and *commadre*. His choice fell on the captain of the sea, and on Gianfeda, the governess of the sultan's harem. It was no slight burden to be chosen best man on such an occasion as this. The presents were costly. Those of the captain of the sea to Ibraim Pasha consisted of two complete palaces: one in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, which had once belonged to another Ibraim Pasha, favourite of Suleiman the Great; the other among gardens upon the Bosphorus, which was to serve as a *villeggiatura* for the newly married couple. The palace in the Hippodrome was not considered fine enough for the sultan's daughter, and the best man undertook to make it suitable at his own expense. The seraglio, as it then stood, was built upon vaulted arches springing from three rows of columns which had belonged to some building of the late empire. In the middle of the seraglio were the women's apartments, with gardens, courtyards, loggias, baths, and fountains. In the centre of one of the gardens, and quite surrounded by fountains, was a chamber entirely inlaid with precious marbles. But, beautiful as these apartments were in their decoration, they were too dark for the modern taste, and somewhat melancholy. The captain of the sea accordingly constructed an apartment especially for the use of the bride. It consisted of a saloon adorned with mosaics like majolica. Next to this was a vaulted chamber in mosaics and gold, and frescoed in part; in this chamber was a fountain. Behind the vaulted chamber

came a toilet closet decorated in gold, and out of that opened a bath. All round the new apartment ran a covered loggia, fully protected from the sun and the heat. This was the present from the best man to bridegroom. Meantime, the sultan had given to his daughter all the jewels which belonged to the sultana, her mother, and two beautiful ponies trapped in gold and jewels, which were to take her from the seraglio of her father to that of her husband.

Ibraim, too, was busy. He had sent to all the embassies to ask the ambassadors to supply him with pheasants, partridges, hares, and other game. The Venetian and French representatives excused themselves on the ground that they were foreigners, and did not know how to get any game even for themselves. The English ambassador not only provided game and sent it, but added a vast quantity of fowls.

The ceremonies which were to lead up to the wedding began on May 15. On that day the sultana mother, the bride, and all the women of the sultan's harem passed from the new seraglio on the water to the old seraglio in the city. There they found the other sultanas, the sisters and relations of the sultan, and the wives of the pashas and great officers of state. All these ladies began an eight days' revelry, which was kept up day and night. Female slaves danced and sang. The ladies lay on couches, drinking sherbet. No men were allowed near the place except the black eunuchs who kept watch at the doors. The day after the ladies arrived at the old seraglio, the pashas and other ministers of the Porte made their presents to the bride. The next day the best man, the captain of the sea, having prepared all his presents in several small houses near the seraglio, went there early in the morning, attended by upwards of three hundred horsemen and a like number of foot. He then headed the procession which conveyed his gifts to the bride. These presents were vast in size and quantity, and required hundreds of sailors to

carry them. They consisted of fifty life-size figures of animals made of sugar; a great castle, also of sugar; five bowls filled with necklaces of gold, jewelled slippers, crowns, girdles, earrings, all richly jewelled; five bales of cloth of gold and of silk; one packet of henna, which these ladies use to dye their hands, feet, and other parts of the body, for greater beauty; lastly, four parcels of comfits. All these gifts were consigned to the black eunuchs at the door of the seraglio, to be presented to the bride.

The next day was the turn of the best woman, the *commadre*. She walked first, followed by the captain of the janizaries, the captain of the sea, and all the ministers of state; behind them came the music and the crowd of shouters, and then the presents. These consisted of a huge structure of silver-gilt, studded with turquoise let into it in various patterns. This machine was twenty yards high, and from one and a half to two yards wide; it was covered with flowers and plants wrought in gold, silver, and coloured silks; it required a large number of men to carry it, and was valued at twenty thousand sequins. After the big machine came eight smaller ones, of similar construction, eight horses laden with bales of silk and cloth of gold, and five bales of that kind of cloth which is used by Turkish ladies to hang on each side of the landing-stages which lead from their caïques to their houses or gardens, to shut out inquisitive gazers. When the bride had received all her presents, her father, the sultan, came in state to inspect them, and to assure himself that they were worthy of his daughter's acceptance.

So far, the father, the best man, and the best woman had all done their part. It was Ibraim's turn now. On the 18th he began a series of banquets at his own house. His first guests were the emirs of the green toque, relations of the Prophet. The following day he received all the priests, preachers, doctors of law, and divines. The sultan's secretary on behalf of his

Majesty, and the captain of the sea on behalf of Ibraim, were both present on this occasion, and drew up the marriage contract. The dowry was fixed at three hundred thousand ducats. After dinner Ibraim held a reception, and received the congratulations of all the dignitaries of the Porte. After this ceremony was concluded, accompanied by all who had attended his levée, he went to the old seraglio to receive the presents and the dowry of the bride, and to take them to his own house. At the end of this procession came a coach hung round with crimson brocade, so that it was impossible to see who was inside ; but it was supposed to contain the governess of the harem, the best woman, whose suite consisted of fifty waiting-women, who were conveyed in fifty closely draped coaches, each one with a black eunuch on horseback as guard. It was the duty of these women to prepare the chamber and the couch for the newly wedded couple. On the return journey to the seraglio of Ibraim, one hundred female slaves riding astride, and all of them richly dressed in brocade, followed the fifty coaches, and scattered money among the crowd. Each horse was led by a slave, and the whole band was escorted by fifty handsome black eunuchs on horseback. After the slave women came a gold-bound Koran carried on a golden desk studded with jewels ; then six silver candelabra with lighted torches, a crystal box full of gems, and many other caskets of jewels ; then the bride's bed, made of silver-gilt, and carried in several pieces, to be put together, and bedquilts and coverlids of gold brocade embroidered with pearls ; then a cook with a whole sheep spitted on a spit ; then kitchen utensils in silver ; then one hundred and twenty-five mules laden with boxes of precious stones, silver, gold, cushions, carpets, curtains ; and, to wind up, all the common kitchen and scullery utensils, piled up anyhow. By the time this long procession of household furniture reached the seraglio of Ibraim, the fifty waiting-women, under

the direction of the governess of the harem, were ready to receive it, and in a short time the rooms of the bride, the kitchen, and the rest of the house were in order.

Besides the big structure already described, which was presented to the bride by the governess of the harem, the captain of the sea had prepared two others of even greater size. They were made in the shape of a pyramid, and on the top of each was a huge candle. They were carried on the shoulders of a number of men, whose movements were regulated by the whistle of a boatswain who stood at the foot of the pyramid. As these huge and cumbersome erections were borne through the streets, one of them had its candle knocked over by the topmost branches of a lofty tree, and it was found necessary to cut away the eaves of the houses in those streets through which they were to pass. They reached the old seraglio in safety at last, and were placed one on each side of the door.

At last the 22nd of May arrived, the day destined for the passage of the bride to Ibraim's house. The procession, headed by the three great constructions already described, was formed in much the same order as on the occasion of previous processions, only every one was more richly dressed, and the number of foot and horse was increased by several hundreds. Jugglers, mountebanks, and conjurers were added to the throng. All the pashas and the grand vizir were on horseback, dressed in white. Behind them came Ibraim's household and all his horses. The horse destined for the bride had its mane and tail decked out with gold and jewels. Then came the *commadre* and the bride, both on horseback, riding like men. Over the bride's head was a baldacchino of gold brocade, whose sides hung down so as to cover completely the bride, leaving free only the head of her horse. Under the baldacchino were her guard of eunuchs and her waiting-women. Behind the bride

came fifty women on horseback, riding like men. These were the wives of the pashas and the chief ministers of the Porte.

In this way the bride was led to the door of her husband's house. Ibraim met her on the threshold. It was the first time he had been allowed to see her. Even then the bridegroom saw no more than her eyes, for she kept her veil on. It was not till after supper that she finally uncovered her face. She is described as short, dark, thin, and with a nose long and excessively hooked.

All through these eight days of the wedding festival the Hippodrome had been full of tumblers, acrobats, rope-walkers, by day; and at night, on the Bosphorus, in front of the new seraglio, fireworks and set pieces had delighted and diverted the sultan Murad.

But although Ibraim had received his bride into his own house, she still remained the sultan's daughter. He was not allowed to approach her until her father sent him formal permission. When he spoke to her, he was obliged to use all humility of manner—he called himself her slave; nor might he sit down unless she invited him to do so. He was kept in this trying position for fifteen or twenty days, until the sultan chose to end the situation. The result of this very painful treatment was, perhaps, not surprising. The day after the sultan gave orders to place the newly married couple on a more rational footing, and to complete the ceremony, the Venetian ambassador sent to congratulate Ibraim, and to offer the presents of his government. He found, however, that the sultan's orders had not been sufficient for their purpose. Congratulations and presents had to be postponed.

Ibraim's position was now a very dangerous one. His wife and her father, the sultan, considered themselves insulted. Ibraim was in disgrace, and instantly found himself deprived of the one compensation for the misfortune of having to marry the sultan's daughter—namely, influence at court and the money

that it brought in. He had spent a vast sum on his marriage, and the sudden cessation of this source of revenue left him almost penniless. He asked his best man, the captain of the sea, to lend him fifty thousand ducats, but was at once refused. Ibraim declared that he had been bewitched by the sultan's sister, his wife's aunt, who was married to Mehemet Pasha, and was afraid and jealous of Ibraim's growing influence. He accordingly put himself in the hands of certain Turks who were skilled in treating such cases. The results were satisfactory, and by June 25 Ibraim's marriage was *un fait accompli*.

An International Episode

M. RENAN, in his charming *Feuilles Détachées*, has given us his ideal of a library. It is not a public, it is a private, or semi-private, library. Like Carlyle, he seems to shrink from the commonalty which peoples the great public collections, and to desire a study dedicated to himself, in which he can feel assured of that *pleine possession de soi-même* which he very justly recognizes as indispensable for spiritual production. True, he tells us of his discovery in the library at St. Malo, where, under layers of dust which testified to the virtual privacy of the place, he came upon the whole *apparatus criticus* requisite for his disquisition on Averroes. He confesses also that the Collège de France satisfies him; but there he enjoyed a suite of rooms apart, and the fact remains that his ideal is a private, not a public, home of study. He complains that no architect of modern Paris has even so much as imagined to himself the possibility of a *locataire lettré*, with the result that "nos bibliothèques sont des cabinets noirs, des greniers où les livres s'entassent sans produire la moindre lumière." Face to face with this distressing fact here is M. Renan's delightful dream of a study "pour ces austères travaux. Une jolie maison dans les faubourgs d'une grande ville; une longue salle de travail garnie de livres, tapissée extérieurement de roses de Bengale; un jardin aux allées droites, où l'on peut se distraire un moment avec ses fleurs de la conversation de ses livres"; or, as the widest concession to common use which he could accept, this picture of some convent library, where the privacy is all but complete: "Une

abbaye du temps de Saint Bernard, perdue au fond des bois, avec de longues avenues de peupliers, des chênaies, des ruisseaux, des rochers, un cloître pour se promener en temps de pluie, des files de pièces inutiles où viendraient se déposer sur de longues tables les inscriptions nouvelles, les moulages, les estampages nouveaux."

Very refined, very delightful, but for some temperaments *trop de luxe*. The Bengal roses would disturb me with their perfume, and by one of those magic transportations which scent is able to effect, I should be rapt away to the watertanks and bosage of the Taj Mahal or to some Gulistan of the delicious East. I should no longer be present in the Inquisition chamber, nor should I hear poor Baldo Lupatino's answers to the court. I should cease to share the wanderings of Dorotea, the heroine of this little story, nor should I feel with her for the loss of her red pelisse. The roses would master me, creating a world of their own in which I should be forced to live; they would hinder, not help, the work in hand.

This is doubtless a matter of idiosyncrasy. M. Renan, and I suppose all students, seek solitude; "car la solitude," he says, "est bonne inspiratrice." But his solitude is the solitude of a paradise, not of the desert. He would hesitate to endorse the old Greek saying *εὐρητικὸν φασιν εἶναι τὴν ἐρημίαν*; the wilderness for him could hardly be the home of invention, of discovery. Yet for some it is so; the very aridity of a public library is stimulative.

But before endeavouring to set forth the advantages which the desert of a public library may offer to counterbalance the roses, the cloisters, the colonnades, the spacious ambulatory of M. Renan's dream, it is worth while just for a moment to point out a distinction between the home of the printed book—the library in its narrower, more modern sense—and the home of original documents, the Record Office or Archive. For some reason or other the Archive

will invariably be found more severe, more arid, austerer than the library. No one who has frequented both will deny this inherent difference of atmosphere. The severity of the Archive passes into the very furnishings of the place: plain deal tables, square legs, uncompromising chairs, as against the comparative luxury of a library, with its fittings of walnut or mahogany. By way of illustration compare for a moment the Search Room at the Public Record Office in London with the Reading Room of the British Museum; or again, the stately decorated chamber in the library of St. Mark with the grim Sala di Studio at the Frari.

Granted the difference between public and private libraries, the public library will be found to offer many peculiar attractions which endear it to all who are born with a palate for such flavours. The company, to begin with, is a valuable stimulus, either of attraction or repulsion. There is something exhilarating in the play of a large machine; something restful in feeling that one is a part only, not the whole of that machine. I am not thinking now of vast cauldrons like the Reading-room of the British Museum, where the readers not merely read, but eat, sleep, and make their toilette, but of such exquisite harmonious havens of rest as Duke Humphry's library in the Bodleian, the Marciana in Venice, the library at Weimar, or that lovely room in the upper town of Bergamo. The play of humanity about one is delightful, and in moments of repose, when the pen is laid down, this environment is more restful than the roses, for it is less aloof. There is no violent rupture in the sequence of mood; all the action is taking place in a region of which we ourselves are a part. How interesting are some of one's neighbours! How charming the unspoken friendship born of proximity and a common object! What revelations, too, of character in all the operations of a library, a very measure of nervosity which may be gauged by

the rapidity or the pauses of the pen, the disposition of the books, the position of the ink-pot, the impatience or the calm of the procedure! Can I ever forget my fascinating companion of some three weeks, who was studying the *Mécanique Céleste*, of which he was himself such a splendid specimen? The wilderness and the stony place have their roses; there are springs in the desert.

Nor are humours wanting in a library. There arrived one day at a city famous for its classical codices a student from somewhere in the Sarmatian plain. Punctually as the library opened he presented himself at its door. In a quarter of an hour he was installed at his table with a rampart of all the manuscripts relating to his author piled in front of him. His hurry was presently explained by the arrival of another eager scholar, who demanded the very volumes now heaped before his rival. An obvious chuckle rippled down the bowed back of the first comer. But he did not know the ways of that city. At twelve o'clock came a sudden and deafening explosion, a rattle of the windows, as the midday gun was fired. The victorious student, with his mind intent to save his codices from the clutches of his competitor, sprang to embrace the pile, and he and they were laid upon the floor. This brought the sub-librarian on the scene, and the greedy collator was forced to abandon a portion of his prey.

Episodes such as this are rarer in an Archive, where the atmosphere is apt to be sterner, more concentrated; though here, too, there are very genuine pleasures in the midst of arid surroundings. At the table next to mine there used to sit a genial old gentleman with spectacles and a bald head. He never spoke, but we knew each other quite well. One day he was obviously in difficulties. First came groans and grunts; then the spectacles were thrust up on the forehead—to no purpose; next he rose from his chair and held the water-wasted document close to the

window, now in one light, now in another ; sat down again and took snuff loudly ; presently he began talking to himself, but really addressing the room. " Water," he said, " nothing but water. All soaked ; all ruined ; would wear out five pairs of eyes." Of a sudden he wheeled round almost fiercely upon me, snatched up the offending document, and flung it across. " Look!" he cried. I rose, looked, commiserated, smiled, sat down.

Dealing as one does in the Archives with unpublished, uncatalogued, and very often unexamined matter, relations with distant and unknown students may, and very likely do, become wide. For example, there are at least three people who are anxious to learn what became of Diasorinos, the scribe. You can never tell at what moment he may swim into view, and should any discovery be made, with what satisfaction would the news be transmitted to Paris and to Oxford! I know of two, at least, who are eager to find out why Giorgio Valla got into trouble with the Council of Ten ; and one in America lives in hope that Francis Bacon was once in Venice. And thus there is created a sympathy with unknown men and lands, a *secretum meum mihi et amicis*, a " bastle-house" or " barmekin" into which you may retire when the tide of common life runs boisterous or contrary.

But, further, to deal with original documents, to handle the very paper, to read the *ipsissima verba* which convey our knowledge, is a more absorbing occupation than to deal with books, which are in a sense twice removed from their creator. This is, I am aware, a merely material consideration ; but Goethe urged that the material should be made to assist the spiritual, and it does so pre-eminently in an Archive. We are there as near to the life of the past as it is possible for us to get. The paper, the ink, the handwriting, all retain some aroma of reality which is missing in the printed page. It is virgin soil, too,

that we are ploughing, and no one knows what the ploughshare may turn up to the light. The most startling clues may be discovered where least looked for, and then how fervent is the chase from one series of documents to another, how keen the pleasure of running the quarry to ground!

Reality, convincingness, vividness, these are the characteristics of study in an Archive; and our material nearness to the past has a very genuine effect upon the imagination. The naked truth, detailed as it is for no literary purpose, with no consideration of art in its composition—a mere piece of actual life with all life's inconsequences—produces an effect superior to any that could be obtained by the most skilful master of *belles-lettres*.

But this fine aroma of veracity is too subtle to be confined; it evaporates in transfusion. Who can preserve the cry that rings from the depositions before the Holy Office? How can you convey the thrill of reality evoked by the sonnet of Lupatino, written in prison with a piece of charcoal taken from a brazier, whose fine black powder blows away even as we transcribe the words, or how present the lively emotions with which we find beneath our eyes designs for the meshes of the net in which the Rizzos were to be drowned? Graffiti and judicial archives are the storehouses of the most poignant emotions which we can gather from the past. But their flavour cannot be transmitted; their quality is a quality *quod demonstrare nequeo, sentio tantum*.

And yet one is constantly tempted to face the impossible, to endeavour to preserve the naïve flavour of some unvarnished story, met by chance in the course of other searches. And, though much of the actual simplicity must inevitably disappear in the process of translation, still some idea of how people lived and thought, some sidelights upon human life, may perhaps be gathered from the little romance now to be related.

The story begins with a despatch from the Venetian ambassador in Constantinople, dated January 29, 1585—that is, 1586 of our style. “Most Serene Prince,” writes Bernardo to the doge and Senate, “some days ago a cavass, obeying orders from the pashas assembled in divan, came to my house. In his company were a young man from Apulia and a boy. The cavass was charged to tell me that this young man, whom he styled a Roman cavaliere, had complained to the pashas on the following grounds. He says that he left Rome along with the boy and the boy’s sister, both of whom were Turks, children of another cavass, who had been captured by the galleys of Florence and made slaves. He had bought them both, had married the girl, and was on his way with them to Constantinople, when they were all three arrested by order of the Venetian Governor of Budua. He himself and the boy escaped, but the girl, who was with child, remained a prisoner. The cavass added that the magnificent pashas were astounded that such a thing should have happened in the territory of the Republic, which was at peace with the grand signor. The young man here broke in and said that he not only complained because his wife had been detained, but also because they had been deprived of one thousand sequins which they carried hid in a mattress, and had been subjected to many cruelties besides.

“I replied to the cavass that I did not believe a word of the story, for I knew that your Serenity’s ministers were gentlemen who were incapable of acting unjustly. I said that I had no knowledge on the subject in question, but that I would write, not only to your Serenity, but also to the Governor of Budua for information; and in order that I might do so effectively, I desired further details of the event. Accordingly, I asked the young Apulian who he was; and out of a long rigmarole I extracted, with some difficulty, the confession that he had been head of the

papal police, that his name was Hector Salen, that he had fallen in love with this Turkish slave-girl, whose name in her native tongue was Giulsien, and her baptismal name Dorotea; that he had carried her off, along with her brother, whose Turkish name was Hussein, and his Christian name Augustino; that for love of her (but more likely because he had committed some crime) he had resolved to come to Constantinople and to make himself a Turk; as, indeed, he had done that very morning in the house of the capadun pasha, the high admiral. He gave himself out as a gentleman, and took the title of papal cavaliere. I further extracted from him that when he was in Ragusa the people of the place, suspicious of his intentions, refused to let him and his companions depart towards Turkey. But he, pretending to set out on his return journey to Italy, got away to Castelnovo, where he hired a boat to take them all to Antivari. They were landed, however, at Cattaro, where the governor arrested them, but discharged them after a few days; and so they came to Budua. There they were again seized by the governor. Salen, however, and the boy escaped; but his wife, owing to her condition, remained in durance.

"It is an obvious lie about the money having been taken from them, for the boy and the Hector Salen contradicted one another as to who was present at the alleged seizure. I noticed that the Apulian held a paper in his hand. This was the petition he had presented to the pashas. I took it from him, and had it translated at once, and found that in it he said nothing about the money. This pack of lies let me see the true nature of the man, and I burst out on him, telling him that his own mouth had proved him to be a great scoundrel, that I was perfectly certain that he had committed some crime, and that that was the true reason why he wished to abandon his country and his religion. I begged the cavass to repeat what he had just heard to the pashas, pointing out that it was

impossible for this fellow, a mere police officer, to have had all that money with him unless he had murdered some one. To this the Apulian made no answer, but went away quite upset and dumbfounded.

"The cavass, who stayed behind, begged me to restore the girl. As for the money, he was now convinced that it was all a lie. I answered that, although the bad character of this fellow was quite clear, yet as regards the girl I would write for information. And with that I dismissed the cavass.

"I sent at once to tell the high admiral, for I saw that the Apulian counted much on his support as having been received into Islam in the admiral's house.

"The following day my dragoman, while waiting to be admitted to divan, was attacked by all the cavasses, who declared that this girl was a daughter of one of their order, and they united in demanding her release. The pashas in a body sent to inform me that this arrest was contrary to treaty. My dragoman replied in the sense of my answer to the cavass, and promised that I would write for information; but Ferrat and Mehmet, pashas, insisted that I should not send for information, but should order the immediate restitution of the girl to Salen. The dragoman assured them that I had no authority to give such an order, nor would I be obeyed if I did.

"I must tell you that the boy, though he confesses that he is called Augustino, denies that either he or his sister has ever been baptized. I do not believe that. I expect considerable trouble from this affair, as the pashas support Salen on the score of religion, and the cavasses because the girl's father was one of their profession. I will take no steps till I hear from your Serenity."

We find the result of this despatch in the order of the Senate dated March 14, 1586. It runs thus :

"To the Governor of Budua,—We are informed by our ambassador in Constantinople that a certain

Hector Salen, an Apulian, has arrived at the Porte. He gives himself out as a papal cavaliere, and complains that when he was at Budua with the children of a Turkish cavass, a boy and a girl, both of whom he bought out of slavery, the girl, who is his wife, was detained by you. The pashas have addressed a vigorous remonstrance to our ambassador on the subject, and you will, no doubt, have heard from him. But we now send you express orders that, if the charge be true, and the girl has been detained by you or by any of your officers, you are to release her at once, unless you have weighty reasons to the contrary; and you are to consign her, all her goods, and all the Apulian's goods, to the Turkish *cadi* nearest to your jurisdiction. You will draw up, in duplicate, a notarial act of this surrender; one copy you will send to our ambassador in Constantinople, and one to us. And this as you value our favour. But should you have grave reasons to urge against this step, then you are to continue the arrest of the said girl and all her belongings, and to refer your reasons to us, that we may consider what you are to do."

But before these instructions could have reached Budua, the subject of all this commotion, Dorotea, had already left for Venice, as we learn from the following minute of March 20, which completes the tale of Dorotea's adventures, from her own lips:

"This afternoon their Excellencies received notice that the Turkish girl, whose detention in Budua was reported by the ambassador at Constantinople, had arrived in Venice, and was on board a ship on the point of sailing for Apulia. Their Lordships ordered the secretary Bonrizzo to send an officer on board and to convey the girl to the lodging of the doge's majordomo, in order that her deposition might be taken. This was done. She was asked her name, who she was, what she was doing on board that ship, and where she was going. To which she replied, 'I am the daughter of a Turk called Achmet, the cavass.

My name in Turkish is Giulsien ; in Christian, Dorotea. My father was sent, about three years ago, to Alexandria to purchase sugar. He fell ill there, and his wife, my mother, poisoned him so that she might be able to return to Christendom. My mother was a Venetian, daughter of the late Messer Aloise Memmo, and was married to the late Messer Ottavio Barbarigo, who was sent as governor to Sebenico. There he was captured and killed by Achmet the cavass, my father, who was then on a piratical expedition. This my mother told me. She was sent back from Alexandria to Venice by Messer Paulo Mariani, a merchant in Alexandria, and I and a younger brother came with her ; Mariani had already placed my elder brother in France. We three stayed two months here in Venice, and then went to Rome to be baptized.'

"Asked, 'Could you not be baptized here without going to Rome?' she answered :

"'My mother was advised to go to Rome, because she was told she could not be absolved from the murder of her husband except in Rome.'

"'And what did you do in Rome, and where did you lodge?'

"'We went to the Catechumens, and presented ourselves to the superiors, and especially to Cardinal Sirleto. There I stayed about four months, learning the Christian doctrine, and then I was baptized. Monsignore Bianchetti, chamberlain to Pope Gregory, was my sponsor at the front. My younger brother was not baptized again, for he had already been baptized according to the Greek rite, at Corfu, on our way back from Alexandria. After I was baptized, Hector Salen, an Apulian from Molfetta, nephew of Signor Giacomo Salen, military engineer, took me to wife. It is a year and a half now that I have been a Christian, and I wish to remain so. The pope gave me for dower the interest on two thousand ducats, and made my husband a cavaliere in the papal guards. While I was at the Catechumens, my elder brother

came from France, but would not be baptized. At last, however, he was persuaded, and was baptized along with me, and then went away in the suite of a count, whose name and home I do not remember. I stayed in Rome with my husband for about six months, while my mother and younger brother went to Naples, and entered the service of the viceroy's wife. My husband mortally wounded a lieutenant in the pope's horse guards, and Cardinal Sirleto advised him to leave Rome for a few days, to escape the hand of justice, and so we went to Loretto. From Loretto we pressed on to Ancona, and from Ancona to Ragusa, to wait for a passage on board a Venetian ship to Zante, where an aunt of mine lived. At Ragusa we met my elder brother, and there we stayed eighteen days ; but, no ships passing by, we were advised to go to Cattaro. We embarked on board the galley, *The Seven Columns*, but as that did not touch at Cattaro, we landed at Ragusa Vecchia, and took a small boat to Cattaro, where we were placed in quarantine on account of the plague. When we secured our pratique, we stayed another day and night, and then set out for Budua. There my husband lodged me in the castle with a certain Pietro Greco, and he and my brother went off to buy fish and to do a little trading. But after nine days I heard from one of Budua that both of them had gone to Alessio and had become Turks.'

"She was asked if, when they left her, they had shown any signs of such an intention. To which she answered :

" 'My husband merely told me that, as there was no passage at present for Zante, he must go and make a little money, so as not to consume all that we had. He took away my rings, necklaces, chains, and ducats, and even my red pelisse. I never heard anything more of them. When I found myself deserted, I begged the Governor of Budua to give me a passage to Venice, where I hoped to find my husband's father and his brother, who had taken their passage in an

orange-boat. I found neither one nor the other ; but I heard that in the choir of St. Mark's there was a singer, a certain Messer Bonifacio of Molfetta, my husband's cousin, and in his house I lived along with a woman who keeps house for him. And, finding a ship bound for Apulia, on the advice of Messer Bonifacio I took a passage on board her.'

" Asked why she wanted to go to Molfetta when she knew that her husband was in Constantinople, she said:

" 'I have no other home, so I resolved to go to my father-in-law, whom I know for a man of honour.'

" Their Excellencies, having heard the above deposition, commanded the young person to be taken for that night to the house of the chief officer, and to be lodged with his women, but under strict guard, and with orders that she was to speak to no one till further instructions."

The next day the Senate made the following decree :

" That the said Dorotea be placed in the Convent of the Penitents at the Giudecca, and that she shall stay there till further notice ; and that she be not allowed to speak to any one.

" That the most prominent Turks residing in this city be invited to appear before the Cabinet, and that, in their presence, Dorotea be asked to declare if she desires to be a Turk or a Christian. When she has announced her resolve to be a Christian, a memorandum of the facts be drawn up in Turkish, and signed by the Turks present, and that this be sent to our ambassador in Constantinople, in justification of our procedure."

And here the luckless Dorotea disappears from the scene. Whether she remained immured on the Giudecca, or found her honourable father-in-law in Apulia, or was restored to the arms of her ex-papal guardsman, we shall never know.

Shakspeare and Venice

THERE is, perhaps, no region of intuitive knowledge which we may safely affirm to lie beyond the reach of the poetic imagination. The power to grasp some trifling indication, some fugitive hint, and from it to reconstruct a whole scheme of things which shall, in all essentials, correspond to fact, is peculiarly the poet's gift; it is the poetical quality in a great man of science—a great osteologist, let us say—which enables him from a single bone to divine the structure of some extinct race: and so in the work of a supreme poet, the justness of general epithets need not surprise us, though their accuracy must always be a source of delight. When Shakspeare tells us, for example, of thrilling "regions of thick-ribbed ice," we are not to suppose that he ever threaded the seracs of an icefall, though no poet ever devised a juster epithet than "thick-ribbed" to describe the colossal cleavage of a glacier.

There is, however, another kind of knowledge—a knowledge of minute facts in detail, which no imagination can fairly be expected to compass; a knowledge which we may more justly call information. The object of this paper is to inquire how much knowledge of this kind Shakspeare possessed about Venice and the Venetian dominions; about the customs of the Republic, her laws, her state; about the habits of the Venetians, their mode of life and character.

It is singular that, in the midst of so active a study and examination of Shakspeare's work from every point of view, scholars have seldom touched upon the question of the poet's local knowledge of Venice.

Yet, as we shall see, the scattered allusions to be collected from the plays prove an intimacy with Venice which is surprising in a man who probably was never out of England. For the inquiry does not lead us to suppose that Shakspeare ever saw Venice. We must conclude that all he had heard about Venice made him love the city, and that his burning imagination vivified the picture of it created by his fancy. We know how deep an interest he took in Italy and in all things Italian, and we surmise that he made good use of his opportunities to gather a considerable store of information about Italy in general, and about Venice in particular. Shakspeare displays a knowledge of Venice and the Venetian dominions deeper than that which he appears to have possessed about any other Italian state. Omitting the references to Rome, which are just under four hundred in number, we find that the chief cities of Italy come in this order: Venice, with fifty-one references; Naples, thirty-four; Milan, twenty-five; Florence, twenty-three; Padua, twenty-three; and Verona, twenty. Two main sources of such information were open to the poet: first, the merchant class, whose relations with Venice dated from times as early as the year 1325, and were cemented by the yearly passage of the Venetian merchantmen known as the Flanders galleys; and secondly, the travelled members of the aristocracy, the young gentlemen who returned to England with indelible memories of Italy and all the charm of that pleasant land, who filled the town with talk of Italian cities, and made Venice, in a certain way, the mode, so that Sir John, for example, assures Mistress Ford that, were she his lady, her arched brow would become "the ship tire, the tire valiant, or any tire of Venetian admittance." We know that Queen Elizabeth was a proficient in Italian, and could even pun in that language; speaking to an Italian on the neglect which Venice had shown to her, she remarked that she was almost induced to believe

that Venice was "non fondata ma profundata nel mare" ("not founded, but foundered in the sea").

It appears that in some way or other Shakspeare had learned sufficient Italian to understand that language. In his Italian plays he introduces enough to prove his familiarity with its use; Mercutio, for example, cannot away with such "antic, lispings, affecting fantasticoes, these fashion-mongers, these perdonamis . . . with their immortal passado, the punto reverso, the hai." Again, the greeting between Hortensio and Petruchio is conducted, for a couple of lines, in Italian, "Con tutto il cuore ben trovato. Alla casa nostra ben venuto, molto honorato Signor mio Petruchio"; and Holofernes quotes the old familiar proverb:

Venetia, Venetia
Chi non ti vede non ti pretia.

The saying is an ancient one; it appeared for the first time in the famous collection of Venetian proverbs known as the *Ten Tables*. The *Dieci Tavole* were ten large broadsides, each containing one hundred and fifty proverbs. They were first printed at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and a copy may have found its way to London in Shakspeare's time. In *Much Ado about Nothing* (i. 1) there is another reference to the lagoon city:

If Cupid have not spent all his quiver in Venice,

which also sounds proverbial. The abundant use which the poet made of Italian *novelle*, and the fidelity with which he has transferred certain proper names and phrases directly from Italian into English, are sufficient proof of his intimacy with the language of the peninsula. All this is well known. But how far did Shakspeare's acquaintance with Venice reach; how deep was his knowledge of the Venetians and of their city?—that city which has exercised such a profound fascination upon so many Englishmen; a city antique in its history, unique in its beauty, unique in

its situation, a veritable sea-bird's nest, as Theodoric's secretary called it thirteen hundred years ago.

For an answer to our question we naturally turn first to the two great Venetian plays, *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*. *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and the doubtful *Two Gentlemen of Verona* will also help us with indications on the same subject.

The influence of such Italian romance-writers as Cinthio, Bandello, and their peers is easily discerned in Shakspeare's choice and manipulation of subjects. It is generally admitted that the *motif* of *The Merchant of Venice* is to be found in the *Pecorone*, the collected works of that old Italian novelist who is known as Master John of Florence: the episode of the caskets, however, does not appear in the *Pecorone*; that was imported from another collection of romances, the *Gesta Romanorum*. Ser Giovanni's *novella*, though amusing, is marred by a coarseness of touch and sentiment; and in the case of this play Shakspeare, in his portrayal of character, has departed considerably from his original, to the great advantage of his drama. There can be no sort of comparison between Ser Giovanni's young lady of Belmont, with her unpleasant wager that none of her lovers will be able to master her, and charming, faithful, playful, noble Portia, idealized portrait of one type of Venetian women, sprightly, smilingly mischievous, not averse to teasing on occasion, but ready-witted, serious when need be, and absolutely true. Nor, again, can that unattractive young swaggerer, Gianetto, with his coxcombry and selfishness, stand for a moment against Bassanio, who, though imprudent, is a true friend, and most amiable. The one character of Ser Giovanni's creation to which Shakspeare has adhered is Ansaldo, the merchant, who pledges his life to the Jew in order to raise money for the spendthrift Gianetto. Ansaldo is undoubtedly the most attractive character in the novel, and is not far removed from good and grave Antonio. Upon some small points, too, the playwright has

varied from his novelist original. In the *Pecorone*, Belmont, for instance, is a seaport; the Jew—who is nameless—lives at Mestre on the mainland, driven there probably during one of those periods of expulsion which the Venetian government imposed on all his tribe in order to force them to purchase re-admission into Venice; the famous jurisconsult, who turns the case in favour of the merchant, announces himself from Bologna, not from Padua; but for the rest, Shakspeare's play and Ser Giovanni's *novella* are very closely allied.

In his mind's eye Shakspeare had formed a vivid conception of the aspect of the country where he laid his scenes. For him, generally speaking, North Italy is "fruitful Lombardy, the pleasant garden"; the pleasantness, the amenity of the land is what he sees, "and there at Venice gave his body to that pleasant country's earth"—so says the Bishop of Carlisle, alluding to the death of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. Again, Shakspeare had clearly conceived the geography of the land, and accurately maintained his conception, though it was, for the most part, an ideal not a real geography. For instance, Verona is a port upon the sea, with tides that ebb and flow, and boats may sail from thence to Milan; Valentine's "father at the road expects his coming, there to see him shipped"; and Launce, weeping over the misdemeanours of his dog Crab, his cruel-hearted cur, is like to lose the tide. Verona is a seaport for Shakspeare in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and it is still a seaport for him in *Othello*, where Cassio's ship, the first to reach Cyprus after the storm, is a Veronesa. But the sheet of water nearest to Verona is the Lake of Garda; and though the Venetians kept their war-galleys floating upon it, about which Shakspeare may have heard, yet it had not a tide that any man could miss. If Verona is a seaport, however, in Shakspearean Italy, there is no reason why Bergamo should not have sail-makers; and accordingly we find that Tranio's father exercised

that calling in the high, hill-perched city. Once more, in Shakspeare's Lombardy, though not in the real Lombardy, there is mountainous territory between Milan and Mantua; the duke, in pursuit of the truants Silvia and Sir Eglamour, bids Proteus and Sir Thurio meet him "upon the rising of the mountain-foot that leads towards Mantua"; perhaps the poet was thinking of the Euganean Hills, but put them on the near, instead of on the farther, side of Mantua.

Yet in spite of this ideal geography we are startled, every now and then, by a touch of topographical accuracy so just as almost to persuade us that Shakspeare must have seen with outward eye the country which his fancy pictures; must have travelled there, and carried thence a recollection of its bearings.

For, to return to *The Merchant of Venice*, Portia says to Balthasar:

"Take this same letter,
And use thou all th' endeavour of a man
In speed to Padua: see thou render this
Into my cousin's hand, Doctor Bellario;
And, look, what notes and garments he doth give thee,
Bring them, I pray thee, with imagin'd speed
Unto the tranect, to the common ferry
Which trades to Venice. Waste no time in words,
But get thee gone: I shall be there before thee."

They are at her country house of Belmont, which we may conjecture to be Montebello, just beyond Vicenza. Portia intends to reach Venice by the *burchio della Brenta*, the common ferry-boat which started from Padua and was towed leisurely down the pleasant stream, past Dolo and La Mira and Malcontenta, and put into the lagoon at Lizza Fusina. It is possible that Shakspeare had heard that quaint and travelled gentleman, Fiennes Moryson, describe the *burchio* and its motley crew. "The boat is covered with arched hatches," he says, "and there is very pleasant companye, so a man beware to give no offence; for otherwise the Lumbards carry shirts of male, and being

armed as if they were in camp, are apt to revenge upon shameful advantages. But commonly there is pleasant discourse, and the proverb saith that the boat shall be drowned when it carries neither monk, nor student, nor curtisan."

However that may be, the poet knew that there was such a ferry and such a boat. Balthasar is despatched before to meet his mistress at the ferry, with documents and lawyers' gowns, which he shall get from Dr. Bellario, whose namesakes live in Padua to this day. Portia, with Nerissa, follows in her coach; and how far is it that they have to drive between Belmont and Padua?

For we must measure twenty miles to-day—

twenty miles! exactly the distance between Montebello and the gate of Padua. If Montebello and Belmont be identical, this is surely most surprisingly accurate; yet we cannot believe that this accuracy is due to more than a striking but fortuitous coincidence. It is almost impossible to believe that Shakspeare ever was in Venetian territory; we feel at once, when we pass inside the city of Venice with him, that he has never "swum in a gondola," except in fancy; there are too many evidences that he did not know the sea-girt city, its water-ways, its little *calli*, those narrow streets whose windings form such a delightful labyrinth, in which the traveller may lose himself. For example, it is true they used to ride once in Venice, before the streets were paved, and when the bridges were made of sloping wooden boards, and the merchants who had business at San Marco used to picket their mules at the Ponte della Paglia or under the fig-tree of San Salvador. But long before the days of Shylock and Antonio the law had forbidden the use of horses or mules; stone bridges made riding impossible, and Dobbin, old Gobbo's fill-horse, would never have been allowed to jog along the narrow *calli* of the town. Again,

Shylock's house is more Florentine than Venetian in structure ; his orders to Jessica are,

Clamber not you up to the casements.

In Florence, where the older houses were often fortresses as well as dwelling-places, the casements may have to be clambered up to ; but in Venice the graceful Gothic windows are low-silled, no higher than a man's middle, and wide and open to admit the breezes from the sea : so Jessica would have no need to clamber ; it was enough for her to lean out of the casement in order to see that Christian

passing by, who was worth a Jewess' eye.

Nor do we think that Gratiano and Salarino would have found a pent-house under which to take their stand, in any Venetian street ; a true pent-house, as distinguished from a sotto-portico, were it ever so narrow, would have filled most Venetian alleys from side to side.

But although slight indications such as these induce us to conclude that Shakspeare never saw Venice, it is impossible to deny the truth of local colour which pervades the play. It is that salient point the Rialto, its mere sound and name, which gives to the setting of the drama the strong Venetian flavour which it undoubtedly possesses. The fame of the great arch, which had been thrown across the Grand Canal soon after Shakspeare's birth, had, no doubt, reached England ; and it is round Rialto that Shakspeare has gathered his own Venetian knowledge ; it is about the Rialto that his fancy builds up the Venice he desires his audience to see. We are made to feel the crowd upon the bridge and at the foot of its long flight of stairs ; we picture Antonio sauntering with his friends, waiting for news of his galleys, and Shylock creeping by, eyeing and eyed askance, and now and then tormented by the boys as they recognize the yellow sign of his Jewish blood upon his breast

or his cap. In the characters of the play, too, the Venetian flavour is for the most part successfully maintained. Portia is most thoroughly Venetian; so also are Shylock and Antonio; indeed the Jew is not more distinctly Jewish than Venetian in many respects; the average Venetian merchant—not Antonio, of course, for he is meant to be an exception—and his Jewish rivals were, we suspect, at no time very different in their methods of conducting business. There is only one point where the Venetian quality of the play is violated—that is, in the portrayal of the country clowns, Gobbo the Elder and Launcelot his son. They are both peasant-bred, but their note, the tone of their conversation and their humour, is English, or at least not Italian. It is in Portia, Shylock, and Rialto that we catch the purest aroma of Venice which the play exhales.

If we ask how far do stray touches and phrases in this drama show on the part of the playwright a knowledge of Venetian habits, laws, and customs, we shall find several points worthy of notice. Whether the poet drew his character of Antonio from the merchant-prince Fugger, as has been suggested; whether he was aware of the great German exchange-house, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, which existed in Venice, or not, he is certainly fully alive to the fact that commercial relations between Venice and Germany were of the closest description. With no German city was trade more active than with Frankfurt; and Shakspeare shows his information on this point when he makes Shylock in his misery recall his business transactions in that city, and the diamond he bought there. But if Shylock really exacted the usury for which Antonio did rate him many a time and oft, he did so in contravention of the law which established the legal amount of interest; and he certainly could not have recovered in any court of Venice. Shylock's confidence that he will receive pure justice from the Venetian tribunals is true to

fact and honourable to the Republic; Antonio himself recognizes this when he says:

“The duke cannot deny the course of law ;
For the commodity that strangers have
With us in Venice, if it be denied,
Will much impeach the justice of his state ;
Since that the trade and profit of the city
Consisteth of all nations.”

That states the truth about Venetian commercial policy: the great freedom and security she always allowed to strangers, which accounted for much of her prosperity, and for the rooted affection which her dependencies bore towards her—an affection which manifested itself after the wars of the League of Cambray, when the liberated cities voluntarily returned to their allegiance towards St. Mark. The most the doge can do is to adjourn the case while waiting for counsel from Padua; no mention is made of discharging the case altogether, even though it be a case of Jew against a Christian. Instances wherein Jews were protected against robbery and violence on the part of private Venetians are not uncommon in the annals of Venetian justice; though the state sometimes plundered the Israelites by exacting large sums for permission to remain in Venice, a permission which had to be renewed every five years. Shylock was not in danger as long as he remained within the law; but his usury would have put him outside the pale. With Jessica and Lorenzo the case was different. They were playing a game which was infinitely more dangerous. For a Christian to wed a Jewess would have brought both of them before the Court of the Esecutori contro la Bestemmia, and placed them in peril of their lives. The Inquisition trials show how sharply this crime was attacked and punished, and even learned Portia would have found herself put to it to set the culprits free.

It is noteworthy that while Shakspeare is aware that the true title of the prince is Doge or Duke

of Venice, he does not know the doge's proper style and address. The doge is duke, and therefore, either as sovereign prince or as duke, for the Englishman Shakspeare, he is styled "your Grace." But had the poet frequented the society of Venetians in London he could hardly have failed to learn that the doge was not "his Grace" in Venice, but "his Serenity." Nor again is it probable that the doge himself would have sat in court at the hearing of Shylock's suit; he seldom sat in any court except that of the Council of Ten, and chiefly when that court was trying for treason. But even had he been present at the trial, there would have been no need to entreat the learned lawyer, Balthasar, home to dinner; for the doge was already at home in the ducal palace, where the courts and the doge's dwelling alike were situated.

To turn now to Shakspeare's other great Venetian play, *Othello*. Here the poet has kept very close to his original authority, the seventh novel of the Third Decade in Giovanni Battista Cinthio Giraldi's collection of stories called the *Ecatomiti*. The name of the heroine is the same in the play and in the novel; and we find certain phrases even paraphrased from the Italian with great fidelity; for example, Othello, when pleading that Desdemona may be allowed to go with him to Cyprus, says:

"I therefore beg it not
To please the palate of my appetite,
But to be free and bounteous to her mind."

Cinthio says that Desdemona chose Othello, "tratta non da appetito donnesco ma dalla virtù del moro." The points where Shakspeare has departed most widely from his original are both curious and instructive. In the first place, the means by which Iago becomes possessed of the famous handkerchief are certainly more telling in Cinthio's novel than in the play; the action adds a touch of blacker villainy and hypocrisy

to the Machiavellian character of Iago, and makes him almost that *perfettamente tristo*, that ideal scoundrel, whose impossibility Machiavelli regretted. Cinthio describes the scene thus: Desdemona is visiting Iago's wife, and in the room is Iago's little child, for whom Desdemona has an affection. Iago, in play, takes up the child and holds her to Desdemona to kiss, while with one hand he steals the handkerchief she is wearing in her girdle. The innocent child used as the instrument for blackest treachery heightens the whole situation, and gives an opportunity to a great actor; and, no doubt, Shakspeare would have retained this fine scene, had it not been necessary to make Emilia aware of the loss of the handkerchief that she may bear testimony to Desdemona's innocence when too late. Again, the strongest conviction of Desdemona's guilt is borne in upon Othello's mind when he sees Bianca return the fatal handkerchief to Cassio. If Cassio had behaved rightly when he found the handkerchief in his room; had he, instead of using it, seen that it was carefully put aside to be restored to its owner, all the pity of it would never have come about, through Cassio's want of manners. Now, Cinthio does make Cassio behave rightly; for when he finds the handkerchief by his bed in the morning, he does fold it up and take it back to Desdemona; Othello sees Cassio leaving Desdemona's rooms, and thus, without any fault of either Cassio or the lady, Othello's jealousy is fed, the plot works on, and the tragedy receives an intensity that is almost Greek in its sense of inevitable fate. Finally, Cinthio makes the Moor and his lieutenant Iago discuss the means by which Desdemona shall be done to death: the Moor wishes to use the dagger or poison; but his henchman urges upon him another method which shall leave no traces of the bloody deed; he proposes to fill a stocking—one of those stockings which Bellini's and Carpaccio's young nobles wear—with sand, and

to strike Desdemona in the back, to kill her so ; to place her on a bed, and to break down a beam of the rotten old roof and lay it across her, that she may seem to have died by accident. Shakspeare, too, makes Othello and Iago debate the mode of Desdemona's death :

Othello. Get me some poison, Iago.

Iago. Do it not with poison, strangle her in bed,
The bed she hath contaminated.

Othello. Good, good : the justice of it pleases me.

But for reasons of his own, possibly owing to a consideration that an English audience would resent the intolerable cowardice and cruelty of the deed, Shakspeare changed the nature of the fatal act ; and Desdemona dies strangled by Othello, not broken by Iago and his stocking filled with sand.

That true lover and student of Venice, the late Mr. Rawdon Brown, in his work on *Marino Sanuto*, propounds, though in a reserved and tentative manner, his peculiar views as to the historical origin of the play and Shakspeare's means of coming by that knowledge. In the development of his theory it will be seen that Mr. Brown assigns a very subordinate place to the Ferrarese novelist, Cinthio. Mr. Brown surmises that the historical sources of the drama are to be found in the story of a certain Christofalo Moro, a Venetian nobleman, employed in many posts of trust and of honour, and among these in the defence of Cyprus against the Turks. He further sees in the obscure words of the old diarist, Sanuto, "In the morning Sir Christofalo Moro was in the Cabinet, in mourning for his wife who died on her way from Cyprus,"¹ a dark hint at some tragedy which he suggests was the tragedy of Desdemona. Starting from

¹ Sanuto, *Diarii*, vii. p. 656, Oct. 27, 1508 : "La mattina fo in colegio, Sier Christofalo Moro, venuto luogotenente di Cypri, et electo capitano in Candia, con barba, per essergli morta la moglie venendo di Cypri."

this hypothesis, Mr. Brown builds up a whole theory of the historical bearings of the play, and displays the actual counterparts of the *dramatis personæ* thus: the Duke of Venice is Leonardo Loredan; Brabantio is one of the Barbarigo family; Othello is Christofalo Moro; and Desdemona is a daughter of Barbarigo, and related by marriage to Cecilia Priuli, wife of Sanuto. But, attractive as this theory is, it rests upon evidence hardly sufficient to carry conviction. The key to Mr. Brown's theory is given in his own words: "Brabantio of Shakspeare," he says, "has always appeared to me to be a member of the Barbarigo family." Desdemona, then, according to Mr. Brown, was a Barbarigo, married to Christofalo Moro. But if we turn to the manuscript volume of marriages contracted among noble Venetian families, the work of Marco Barbaro, we find the following matrimonial alliances recorded against the name of Christofalo Moro: in 1472 he married a lady of the Priuli; in 1476 a lady of the Capello, widow of Piero Soranzo; in 1481 a Pasqualigo; and in 1516 a lady of the da Lezze, widow of Girolamo Contarini. There is no trace, therefore, of a Barbarigo marriage.

But Mr. Brown calls attention to another fact which is certainly curious—a fact which confirms him in his view that the Brabantio family of the play are the Barbarigo of Venice. The wife of Marino Sanuto, the diarist, whose entries set Mr. Brown upon his theory, was a lady of the house of Priuli, Cecilia by name, married first to Girolamo Barbarigo; upon his death she married Sanuto, and brought with her, from the Barbarigo household, a maidservant or slave, as she is called, named Barbara, in whom, of course, Mr. Brown recognizes Barbara of the Willow song. This is an ingenious hypothesis. But we can hardly imagine that Shakspeare had such extraordinarily intimate knowledge of Venetian private family history as to be aware that Cecilia Priuli, about the year 1508, had a maidservant of the name of Barbara. If he had

ever heard the fact, would he have remembered it, unless his informant had told him of the Willow song? And can we imagine any Italian maid singing a song so English in its quality as that of "Willow, willow"? To meet this difficulty Mr. Brown proceeds to examine the possible source of this intimate knowledge with which he credits the poet. Holding firm by his identification of Brabantio with Barbarigo, he points out that there was in London, as secretary to Francesco Contarini, Ambassador Extraordinary from the Republic in 1609, a certain Vettor Barbarigo, who may have had access to the Barbarigo papers, and been aware of the whole story of Christofalo Moro. "It is possible," says Mr. Brown, "that the tragedian and the secretary met at the théâtre; that Shakspeare heard the story and was struck by it; and so we may attribute the source of the play to a Venetian Barbarigo and not to a Ferrarese Cinthio Giraldi." But all this interesting structure rests upon insecure foundations. Just as it is difficult to connect the Christofalo Moro of Sanuto's diaries with the Barbarigo family for the want of a marriage, so it is difficult to connect Shakspeare with a Barbarigo in London, or at least with this particular Vettor Barbarigo, for the sufficient reason that Francesco Contarini, his chief, was not ambassador in England till the year 1609. As there is strong evidence, both internal and external, that the play was not only written but acted in or before the year 1604,¹ it is clearly not easy to establish any connection between Vettor Barbarigo and Shakspeare's sources for the drama. Further, were it possible to make these two connections, we have no sufficient ground for assuming that Sanuto's words about the death of Christofalo Moro's wife veil a tragedy—the diarist merely says that Christofalo was in mourning

¹ Molmenti, *Vecchie Storie* (Venezia, Ongania: 1882), p. 75. He is in error when he gives the date of 1602 to the doubtful Record Office entry in *The Accompte of the Office of the Reuelles*, and again in stating that that document is at Stratford.

for his wife, who died on her way from Cyprus—or that Brabantio and Barbarigo are synonyms; and we are thrown back again upon the older and more probable hypothesis, that the novel of the Ferrarese Cinthio is the real source of Shakspeare's *Othello*.

Mr. Brown's interesting speculations have found considerable favour and some supporters who carry his theory still further. Developing a hint dropped in the course of his argument, that Othello's swarthy colour, his Moorish blood, was suggested by the name of Christofalo's family, Moro a Moor, they urge that even if Cinthio's novel is the source of the play, the source of Cinthio's story is still to be found in the life of Christofalo Moro; that Shakspeare knew his Moor was not a Moor, but a member of the noble family Moro, whose family badge, the mulberry (*moro*), punning on their name, may be seen traced in exquisite low relief round the tomb of the Doge Cristoforo Moro, who lies buried at San Giobbe. They argue that Shakspeare intended to indicate his knowledge on this point when he made Othello's *gage d'amour* to Desdemona a handkerchief *spotted with strawberries*—that is to say, a kerchief worked with mulberries—the canting cognizance of the Moro family.

But against this attractive explanation we must observe that the phrase “spotted with strawberries” occurs in the play only, not in the novel, where the handkerchief is described as worked “alla moresca,” in Moorish or arabesque design. To make this theory good, then, we must argue that Shakspeare had knowledge behind Cinthio; that he not only used Cinthio's story, but also knew the historical facts on which it is said to be based. This would indicate a singularly intimate acquaintance with obscure Venetian matters; too intimate, we should say, to have been possessed by a London playwright. Again, if Shakspeare knew that his hero was a member of the family Moro, why did he, an Englishman, shrink from saying so? why did he make Othello a blackamoor, thus contradicting his

own knowledge, and exposing himself to the necessity of apologizing for Desdemona's passion? That a Ferrarese should have dreaded to wound the honour of a patrician family of Venice is intelligible; that an Englishman should have felt the same scruple, hardly. And further, if Shakspeare introduced the phrase "spotted with strawberries," not by accident but on purpose, to show that he knew that his Moor was not a Moor but a Moro of Venice, why did he not use mulberry-spotted? and could he with dramatic propriety have made Cassio ignorant of his general's cognizance? Surely Cassio would have recognized Othello's badge and returned the handkerchief to Desdemona, and so avoided the tragedy. We cannot help thinking that Shakspeare had no other knowledge than that which he gathered from Cinthio's novel; that he introduced the phrase "spotted with strawberries" by pure accident; and that he thought his Moor was a real Moor and not a Moro. Whether Cinthio intended his hero to be a Moor or one of the family Moro, whose name he concealed under this pun, is not so clear. It is of course unlikely that he, a Ferrarese, could have imagined that the Republic of Venice would put a coloured man in command of its troops; but, on the other hand, we must remember that the novelist, as well as the playwright, finds it necessary to apologize for Desdemona's liking for Othello in terms that leave little doubt but that he meant him to be a Moor. Under any circumstances no argument can be drawn from the episode of the handkerchief, as told by Cinthio, except a slight one in favour of his hero having really been a Moor whose handkerchief was worked in Moorish arabesque, "*alla moresca*."

Italian critics have tried to find an historical reason for the change which Shakespeare makes in the climax of the tragedy, by substituting strangulation for a blow from a sand-bag as the means by which Desdemona was done to death. In May of the year 1602, in Venice, one of the Sanuto family killed his wife

for infidelity. Domenico Bollani, writing to Vincenzo Dandolo, narrates the event thus: "The other day, one of the Sanudo, who lives on the Canal della Croce at the Giudecca, compelled his wife to go to confession, and then the following night, about five o'clock, he stabbed her in the throat and killed her; he says because she was unfaithful to him, but the quarter holds her for a saint."¹ The Italian critics suppose that Shakspeare heard the story "in the circle of the Venetian ambassadors in London, which he sometimes frequented while living at court and in aristocratic society before he retired to Stratford," and that he altered the finale of his tragedy in imitation of the Sanuto murder. They point out that the episode of the confession previous to the murder, in the Sanuto tragedy, is paralleled by Othello's demand:

"Have you prayed to-night, Desdemona?
If you bethink yourself of any crime
Unreconciled as yet to heaven and grace,
Solicit for it straight."

Nothing corresponding to this dramatic episode of the confession is to be found in Cinthio's *novella*. But we cannot believe anything of the kind. The idea that Shakspeare frequented the Venetian ambassador's, or lived in court circles in London, is a pure fiction. In 1602, the date of the Sanuto murder, there was no ambassador from Venice at the court of Queen Elizabeth; and if there had been, it was not probable that he would have discussed with a playwright a matter so closely affecting the honour of a Venetian-nobleman. Shakspeare simply took the story as he found it in Cinthio's novel; framed his tragedy upon it, altered it where it did not suit the

¹ Molmenti, *op. cit.* p. 78. "Un Sanudo che stà in Rio della Croce alla giudecca fece l'altro hieri confessare sua moglie ch'era capello et la notte seguente, su le cinque hore, li diede di un stiletto ne la gola et la ammazzò: dicesi perchè non gli era fidele, ma la contrada la predica per una santa." Sanudo was tried by the Ten, who recognized the wife's innocence.

purposes of his play or of his audience, and thought very little indeed about either Moro or Sanudo.

In *Othello*, as in *The Merchant of Venice*, there are several indications that Shakspeare's knowledge of the city was considerable. It will be remembered that Iago, when he rouses Brabantio to seek for his daughter, tells him that Othello is lodged at the Sagittary. It is said, though upon what authority we know not, that the Sagittary was the residence of the officers commanding the navy and army of the Republic; that it was close to the Arsenal, and that the figure of an archer over the gate still indicates the place. We have never been able to find this gateway with the archer over it; but, if the statement be correct, it would prove a very close hearsay acquaintance with Venice. It is more probable, however, that the Sagittary was an inn with the sign of the Archer—like the Salvadego or Salvage-man—whither Othello took Desdemona when she left Brabantio's house; for it is clear that the doge, when he sent for Othello, did not know where to find him, which would hardly have been the case had Othello lain that night at his proper lodging in the Arsenal.

The whole of the first act of *Othello* is full of the spirit of Venice, which the poet has known how to breathe into his words. The dark night, the narrow streets, Brabantio's house with close-barred doors and shutters, the low voices of Iago and Rodrigo, the sudden uproar springing up out of the quiet night, the torches and lacqueys, the "knave of common hire," the gondolier, the doge and senators in council, their indignation at their brother patrician's wrongs, Othello's calm and noble statement of his wooing, how he sped by tales of moving accidents, and histories so strange as to tempt us almost to believe that Shakspeare had studied Marco Polo's *Voyages*; Brabantio's bitter, resentful, unforgiving warning:

"Look to her, Moor, if thou have eyes to see:
She has deceived her father, and may thee";

—all this is admirably conceived to picture forth one full night in Venice.

As in the comedy Portia is the type of the brilliant, playful, sprightly, Venetian lady, so in the tragedy Desdemona personifies the gentle, loving, submissive, patient type, so dear to the Italians, and so much honoured in the tale of too patient Griselda :

“Those that do teach young babes
Do it with gentle means and easy tasks ;
He might have chid me so,”

says Desdemona ; she is incapable of resentment ; and her very meekness maddens Othello till he strikes her ; but the Venetian, Lodovico, instantly rebukes him :

“My lord, this would not be believed in Venice,
Though I should swear I saw it : ’tis very much ;
Make her amends.”

On the whole, however, as was natural, there is less of local colour in the tragedy than in the comedy. When the action of the plot has once got under way, we are soon carried out of any particular locality ; the movement might be taking place in Paris as well as in Cyprus ; we are face to face with elemental passions true to all places and to all times.

We would draw attention to a few other points and touches which help to throw light on the extent of Shakspeare’s knowledge of Venice, Venetian territory, and Venetian people. When Brabantio unwillingly and with an ill grace resigns his daughter to the Moor, he says to Desdemona :

“For your sake, jewel,
I am glad at soul I have no other child ;
For thy escape would teach me tyranny,
To hang clogs on them.”

It is possible that in this passage Shakspeare is thinking of those high pattens which were then in favour with Venetian ladies. They were worn so

enormously high that a lady required the attendance of two lacqueys, upon whose shoulders she leaned for support when she went abroad. The story in St. Disdier's *La Ville et la République de Venise*, already quoted (p. 258), appears to throw light on Shakspeare's intention in this passage. The French traveller relates that the Ambassador of France, in conversation with the doge, remarked once that shoes would be much more convenient; whereupon one of the ducal councillors broke in severely, "Yes, far, far too convenient." Again, Brabantio, when he learns his daughter's flight, calls for some "special officers of night"; would Shakspeare have thought of such a strange and picturesque description of the night patrol, had he not known that in Venice those officers bore the title of *Signori di Notte*, lords of the night? The poet is aware that Padua possessed a university, and was a famous *nursery of arts*; this is not surprising when we recollect how many Englishmen went to study in that city. But more than this, he knew that Padua belonged to Venice, and that Mantua did not. Tranio tells the pedant:

"'Tis death for any one in Mantua
To come to Padua. Know you not the cause?
Your ships are stayed at Venice, and the duke,
For private quarrel 'twixt your duke and him,
Hath published and proclaimed it openly."

It was surely not a little for a London play-actor to know so much of the complicated political geography of Italy. In the passage just quoted the term "pedant" is used in a peculiar sense, for foot-goer, pedlar, analagous to the special Venetian use of *viandante*, for hawker or small retail merchant; and this same "pedant" declares that Tranio shall ever be the patron, that is, *padrone*, master of his life and liberty. We do not know if "Sound as a fish," an expression which passes from Launce to Speed in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, was an English proverb in use at

Shakspeare's date, but "Sano come un pesce" certainly was, and is a good Italian proverb to this day. The Prince of Verona, who was ruling when Romeo and Juliet loved and died, was Escalus, no distant relation to Can Grande or Can Signorio della Scala, we may guess; although his reign will not accord chronologically with the plague which Shakspeare quite rightly represents as raging in the Venetian provinces (1579-80), thus bringing about the catastrophe of his drama by preventing Friar John from delivering Friar Lawrence's letter to Romeo in Mantua. Shakspeare is aware too of the right use of Italian gentile names. Lucentio, in *The Taming of the Shrew*, describes his father as 'Vincenzio come of the Bentivolii,' that is, Vincenzo de' Bentivoglii.

It is not to be supposed that Shakspeare gave any special thought or study to Venice or to the Venetians; the knowledge which he possessed was picked up in the course of daily life by his attentive ear, and stored in his memory; it was quickened and made living by his poet's imagination until it grew sufficient to allow him to picture correctly the pomp and splendour of the Venetian state; the sprightliness and tenderness of Venetian women; the gaiety of the young Venetian noble; the deep, persistent hatred of the Venetian Jew; the devilish cunning of Venetian Iago, with enough of local colour in the Rialto, the gondola, the ferry-boat from Padua, the doge in court, the Senate in council, to make us feel that though he "was never out of England, it's as if he saw it all."

Marcantonio Bragadin, a Sixteenth-Century Cagliostro

I

ONE of the most curious and permanent features in the history of the human spirit is the perennial expectation that the impossible may be realized. The human spirit, like a child with its toys, seems to grow weary of that which it possesses, and to reach out its hands to that which it has not. The very improbability of attaining an object throws a fascination around it, and renders it more attractive than that which lies in our grasp. Mankind never ceases to hope—often in secret—that the picture of his imagination may become actual for him in some way or other. The form which this expectation assumes continually varies. Now its result is a credence in oracles; now a conviction that the millennium is imminent; now the philosopher's stone or El Dorado attracts desire; now it is the prospect of classifying ghosts or of reading the secret behind the veil. But, however various the manifestations of this reaching towards the unrealized may be, each age, and especially each age of any remarkable vitality, has shown itself aoristic, undefined, and formless in some direction. It is to this dubious point that the curiosity, dissatisfaction, and outgoings of mankind have always rushed. Here, at this flaw in the solidity of the human intellect, at this breach in the fortress of fact, this breach that lets infinity flow in upon mankind, and sometimes permits of acquisition, expansion, true growth we find assembled the strange and restless spirits of their time—the magician, the prophet, the philosopher. The qualities

of these men differ widely from one generation to another as the object of their hopes differed. Sometimes it was a noble expectation which drew them to the gates of the infinite; a hope of Christ's second coming, or a belief in universal equality and brotherhood. Sometimes the expectation was mean and tainted; such as the belief in the power of alchemy to create gold, or a hope of inexhaustible pleasure to be purchased by a compact with the devil. But, noble or mean in its extravagant aspirations, each age shows us the human spirit occupied, in part at least, with a hope that the impossible may become possible, that the limitless may be grasped. Each epoch, then, will have its genuine pioneers in the spiritual or the material world, and side by side with them its Cagliostros, trading, with more or less of conscious duplicity and villainy, upon the governing appetites and expectations of the men about them. These charlatans, in spite of their iniquity and their certain failure, are seldom utterly uninteresting—the possibility and the peril of self-deception touch mankind too nearly. And, moreover, they often possess the power of bringing to the surface the salient qualities of the men with whom they are implicated, and their career throws into high relief the leading characteristics of their age.

The close of the sixteenth century was a period of extreme ferment and corruption throughout Europe. The air was charged with expectation. Men's minds were on the alert for something startling and new; old landmarks had been swept away, old faiths called in question. Machiavelli and the Reformation had riven Europe and shaken thrones. Court and camp were in a condition of morbid activity. Princes and sovereigns moved restlessly, impelled by an insatiable desire for change. Their palaces swarmed in adventurers, ready to propose and attempt impossible schemes of political aggrandizement. In the world of politics the bounds of sanity were overstepped, and in the social world the same process was at work. It

was one of those periods when the moral conscience seems to have fallen asleep and to have relaxed its bracing and binding power. In every department of life charlatans were abroad, preying upon the cupidity, the folly, or the appetites of society. Our sixteenth-century Cagliostro, Marcantonio Bragadin, was only one among a hundred others of similar temper ; but we have selected him for several reasons. In the first place, his career led him to cross the paths of many people of importance¹: of Henry III. and Henry IV. of France and the Dukes of Bavaria and Mantua ; of Popes Sixtus V. and Gregory XIV. ; and, finally and principally, he came in contact with the Republic of Venice. He occupies two volumes of official letters, reports and resolutions, which exist now in the archives of the Frari.² In these manuscripts we are able to follow the Venetian period of his career with a minuteness that accounts for almost every day, and in the process a vivid picture of a charlatan's adventures, his successes, and his failure, is unfolded before us ; while at the same time we receive a singular demonstration of the patient accuracy and the thorough method which distinguished the Venetian government, even when dealing with a subject apparently so unimportant as the movements of a reputed alchemist.

II. IN NUBIBUS

Marco Bragadin of Cyprus, as he called himself, would seem to have really belonged to the noble Venetian house whose name he bore. How that may be we cannot say for certain. His birth, his boyhood, and early youth are lost in obscurity ; and Cyprus is the only fact upon which we can rely. In Cyprus he was born, somewhere about 1540, of a father who practised alchemy and medicine with considerable

¹ Doglioni, *Hist. Venet.* lib. xviii. ; Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, lib. xxviii.

² *Arch. di Stato*, Codici ex Brera, serie i. and ii. No. 80. See also Museo Civico, Cicogna Codice, No. 80.

success. Between Cyprus in 1540 and Venice in 1574 we catch only one fleeting and doubtful glimpse of Marco as court fool and disreputable attendant in the train of Bianca Capello, Grand Duchess of Tuscany.¹ The next we hear of him is in Venice, with his brother Hector, staying in the house of a friend—he had already begun to make friends and followers—a certain Caldogno, of Vicenza. There is nothing as yet about alchemy or mystery of any sort, only friendship, and that *pura fascinazione*, the sheer fascination which one of his victims subsequently recognized as a characteristic of the man. At this time Venice was in a ferment of revelry for the advent of Henry III. of France. The lavish expenditure, the riot, and the licence of these few days' pageantry turned most heads; and it occurred to the two Bragadins that they would like to go to France in Henry's train, seeing the number of adventurers who swarmed about the king, and scenting the right man for their prey, if they could come at him. Money for the journey was not easily to be had; but, thanks to Marco's "sheer fascination," the Caldogno family advanced fifty ducats and a bill of exchange for four hundred more; and, thus provided, the Bragadins set out. At this point they disappear once more behind their cloud, and what happened in France is obscure to us. But it would seem that Marco began his practice of alchemy or "philosophy," as it was called by its professors, in that country, where the famous Nostradamus was little more than dead, and that he left something of a reputation behind him, enough at least to secure for him repeated invitations to return. Whatever reputation Marco may have gained, this visit to France did not prove financially successful; and we find him back again in Venice, all the four hundred and fifty ducats gone, himself in great straits, overwhelmed with debts, pursued by creditors, and with no ostensible means of livelihood. In this

¹ See Celio Malespini, *Novelle*, tom. ii. nov. xc.

pass he took a step which hampered him all his life, and from the consequences of this act he never struggled free. He resolved to enter a monastery of the Capuchins. Before he assumed the cowl, the father superior obtained for his novice an accommodation with his creditors, and Marco joined the Order of St. Francis a free man, as he believed, but, in reality, he had fastened such a halter round his neck as was not to be loosed except by his death. Bragadin had taken this step merely as a temporary measure and under the great pressure of his debts. A cloister life had few attractions and offered no scope to a man of his temper. He was not long in making his escape and finding his way back to France. And it was after this second visit to France that he emerged into clear light, and began to attract the attention of the Venetian government.

III. BRAGADIN EMERGES

Hitherto Bragadin's course has lain chiefly *in nubibus*; there have been few indications of the man's nature or powers; we have heard little as yet of transmutation of metals, and nothing of the *anima d'oro*.¹ Only in Cyprus, Florence, Venice, and France has the veil lifted a moment to show us Marco in no very reputable or hopeful circumstances. Now, however, he emerges into lucidity, and the vigilant eye of Venice is turned upon his career.² In September, 1588, Bragadin was established in a small village of the Bresciano, at the foot of the Alps, not far from Bergamo. He had just returned from France, where his second visit had proved no more lucrative than the first. For he was living in a very poor way, "in miserable rags," with one companion, a Flemish gunsmith skilled at mending arquebuses. Here, at Torbiato, he might have remained undisturbed and unnoticed, but that the

¹ The phrase *anima d'oro* is remarkable in the light of the modern scientific theory that nature is one, and shows that the alchemists in a blind way were on the legitimate line of search.

² *Arch. di Stato*, Cod. ex Brera, No. 80.

officers of the Inquisition got wind of his whereabouts, and were in search of him as a runaway monk. So Bragadin was forced to change his quarters ; and the next we hear of him is from Lovere, on the Lago d' Iseo, with the police close at his heels. One night he was roused by a hammering at the door, and looking out to see who knocked, he found the house surrounded, and the Chief Constable of Bergamo come to arrest him. " Alone and undressed, he flung himself out of a high window, and so escaped," but not without a deep wound under his chin, the scar of which he bore long afterwards. Considering the height of the window, and his narrow escape from capture, he decided that a miracle had been performed on his behalf, and asserted it with such confidence that he persuaded some of his friends to believe the same.

A miracle alone, however, is not a source of income ; and, as yet, Bragadin's prospects did not seem very bright. But presently he is back again at Lovere, and an extraordinary change has come over his manner of life. At Torbiato he was poor, alone, and pursued ; at Lovere he is rich and surrounded by servants. The Governors of Brescia report thus of him in October, 1589 : " He entertains in his house, now twenty, now thirty nobles and other citizens of Brescia. His expenses are so great that no private individual could support them. Rumour says that during these last four or five months he has disbursed twenty thousand scudi ; and just now he has one hundred mouths to feed, and one hundred horses in his stables." Truly a surprising change from the " miserable rags " of Torbiato just a year ago ! And the way in which Bragadin had wrought this transformation gives him rank as a charlatan. His method was that of the professional impostor and scamp. He began by whispering to his neighbours of Torbiato that God had committed to his keeping a secret whose value was inestimable, but not for worlds must they divulge this to another ; he told it them solely because

they had taken pity upon his rags and poverty. And what was the secret? Then Bragadin produced a fine powder, wrapped in a paper, and said that here was the *anima d'oro*, the spirit of gold, by whose potency he could convert quicksilver into the precious metal, and reap a profit of five hundred per cent. Unlimited prospect of gold! It was more than human imagination could resist, and all to be had by simple belief in this precious man; no other price asked; for Bragadin began by refusing presents from these lesser folk, meaning to fly at far higher game. Events followed the course he expected. Such a light could not long lie hidden under a bushel. The rumour spread that at Lovere lived a man who owned the spirit of gold; and presently there arrived a certain Alfonso Piccolomini, gentleman and soldier in the service of the Duke of Mantua, and shortly after the duke himself, to see whether the *anima d'oro* might not be carried off to Mantua, locked away, and so make his Highness rich for ever. Money was not wanting now, for Bragadin had doubtless represented to Piccolomini that the labourer is worthy of his hire even before he has laboured. And so the duke "stayed to dine and sup, and treated Bragadin with more respect than he shows to our government"—so report the Governors of Brescia. "He made great offers to Bragadin if he would go to Mantua. With these, however, Bragadin merely played, and gave no promise." A few days later the duke is back again to supper; "a great feast, with fish, flesh, *confetti* from Genoa and Spain; all at the cost of seven hundred scudi, not including an arquebus which Bragadin presented to the duke, and which was worth six hundred more"; and after supper Bragadin did himself the honour to refuse a diamond ring "worth some million"—a singular moderation, considering that it was the duke's pocket which had furnished the feast.

In this distinguished company the humbler friends of Torbiato are forgotten and thrust aside. But they

do not forget their quickened hopes, their visions of perennial gold; and, resenting Bragadin's conduct, they report ill of him to the authorities in Brescia. These visits of the Duke of Mantua required consideration. The governors referred for orders to Venice, and received instructions to furnish "the fullest information regarding the life, habits, expenses, servants, friends, and intentions of Bragadin." In this way the alchemist came under the notice of the Venetian government, and the series of daily reports begins.

IV. ANIMA D'ORO

Hitherto Bragadin's illustrious friends had heard only promises and glowing accounts of the inexhaustible resources of *anima d'oro*. Tangible proof as yet there was none. And they became impatient. But Bragadin was now aware that Venice had begun to show some interest in his movements. This was just what he desired. The more bidders for him and for his precious "medicine,"¹ as he called it, the better terms he would be able to make; so at least he thought. He was ready to give proof, but was resolved to do so only in the presence of some Venetian of authority whose report would impress his government. He chose his man well. Count Marcantonio Martinengo, of Villa Chiara, was a noble of the Republic, a distinguished general who had represented Venice at the courts of Rome and France, a man valued for his straightforward honesty and simplicity. At that time he was recovering from illness at a country house near Brescia. Bragadin begged Piccolomini, as a friend of Martinengo, to invite the count to be present at the operation of making gold from quicksilver which he now intended to perform. Martinengo gladly accepted the invitation, for he had heard the rumours about Bragadin and

¹ See Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*. Subtle might almost have been studied from Bragadin.

was curious. But first he consulted the authorities of Brescia, and obtained their consent to his action on the understanding that he should send them a detailed report of all that occurred.¹ This is Martinengo's report: "Sig. Marco Bragadin, as a most faithful and loving subject of this serene Republic, wishing to demonstrate the reality of the gift committed to him by the Divine Majesty, chose and summoned me as a tried friend and servant and vassal of his Serenity, that I might bear true testimony to the facts. He made me take a pound of quicksilver, which I had ordered my servant to buy, and put it in a crucible upon a fire of live coals. He left it there as long as one might take to say a *Pater noster* and an *Ave Maria*. Then he made me take some orange-coloured powder which he values very highly, about as much as a grain of millet ground into meal; and this he made me mix with a red wax, that the powder, which is very fine, might not fly away. Then he made me take another small grain of some material between green and black. This he declared was of no value at all, and in proof he flung some of it out of the window; but at the same time he said that it was absolutely necessary for the operation, which could not be performed without it. This stuff with my own hand I mixed in wax, and then threw both the pellets into the crucible where the quicksilver was already boiling. Then we heaped on more coals, so that the fire was blazing all round, and left it about a quarter of an hour; at the end of which, I, by his order, took the crucible, glowing hot, and put it in a vase of liquid, like water in consistency but of a pale blue colour. And when the crucible was cooled, we turned out of it a lump, weighing a pound, which I have forwarded to you, that it may be sent to Venice, and tested with the usual tests for gold of twenty-four carats." The lump was sent to Venice and tested. We shall hear more of it later on.

This was a good day's work for Bragadin. He had roused all the curiosity and cupidity of the Venetian officials by his lump of seeming gold, which reached them through the Governors of Brescia.¹ But more than that, he had attached to himself Count Martinengo by a faith that no subsequent exposure was able to shake. Martinengo was a plain, honest man. He had seen the gold made; that was enough for him. From that day forward he believed in the God-gifted Marco Bragadin, and was completely subdued by the "sheer fascination" of the man and his work. In all future proceedings he acts for Bragadin; defends him; watches his interest; counts it his greatest honour to know this "sage favoured of heaven," this man "with a singular devotion to goodness." Nothing could have been more fortunate for Sig. Marco. For, on the other hand, the Venetian government—who cared little about the source of his gift, be it from heaven or hell, who were not at all impressed by his "singular devotion to goodness," and indifferent as to his character "more than middling"—had been touched in a place where they were highly susceptible. This Brescian nugget wakened in them the vision of an inexhaustible treasury. Their one anxiety now was that Bragadin should be brought to Venice as soon as possible; their greatest fear lest the Duke of Mantua or some other prince should carry off this golden prize. In their negotiations with the alchemist they found no fitter intermediary than the Count Martinengo, the man of Bragadin's own choice; and so, as plenipotentiary between himself and the Venetian government, Bragadin secured a man wholly devoted to himself, the humble slave of his "sheer fascination."

V. "HIS NATURAL PRINCE"

The negotiations for bringing Bragadin to Venice required some delicacy in handling. France, Rome,

¹ See *Archivio Veneto*, t. i. pp. 170-2.

Mantua, and Venice were all bidding for the honour of his presence. Venice was unwilling to arrest him and carry him off by force, though at the same time she was fully resolved that he should not escape. Bragadin was aware of this resolve; and the knowledge that he was virtually caught irritated him into making a show of freedom by playing with other princes, and by loudly declaring that he would take no other road than that which "God should inspire him to choose." Though he had desired to number Venice among the claimants for his person, he was now more than half afraid of his own action, dreading the results of the notoriety he had created and feeling that he had touched a power he was unable to control. The Venetian government did not wish to alarm him, and preferred that he should come to Venice seemingly of his own accord. At the request of Martinengo they sent a safe-conduct for Bragadin, his powders, jars, and retorts, and ordered the Governors of Brescia to invite him to dine and to show him every attention. On the other hand, Piccolomini, as a soldier of adventure in command of his own troop, was plying Bragadin with wild offers—to seize Orvieto and make it over to Bragadin, if he would consent to manufacture gold in that city. The Duke of Mantua, too, was at work in person. Late one evening he arrived incognito at Brescia, in a hired carriage with three attendants. He at once called on Bragadin, and was admitted, by a secret stair, to the room where the alchemist was; he threw his arms round Bragadin's neck, implored him to be his friend, made him shake hands on it, assured him of his immutable regard. Bragadin replied in the same strain, and ended by saying, "When I am at Venice, I shall be with a prince who is so entirely my friend that I can promise you all good offices through my mediation." Then the two passed the evening over a splendid supper, and next day the duke sent to his host a collar, a jewelled watch, and robes with golden buttons.

But the pressure from outside, from the Governors of Brescia, from Martinengo, from Contarini and Dolfin, two commissioners sent on purpose to hasten Bragadin's departure, was rapidly becoming more than he could resist. As a matter of fact, one course only was open to him; and on November 8 he announced that, "inspired by God to refuse all other offers, he was now resolved to serve his natural prince," the doge. The conditions which he asked were modest enough; for his game now was to establish himself well at Venice, and secure the confidence of the government and the great nobles. "I do not seek," he says, "nay, I do not desire either dignity or honour. I am content with the pleasure I feel in serving others. I bring to Venice my treasure, and in Venice will my heart also be. I only entreat your Serenity to leave me perfectly free to act as God shall inspire. This operation of making gold requires much time, and ninety months of undisturbed labour will be needed to perfect and to multiply the *anima d'oro* which I now possess, so that I may be able to make a suitable gift to your Serenity. The medicine I have with me is capable of producing one hundred thousand ducats; but in order to create five millions, as I desire to do, I require thirty months for boiling a certain water in dung under ground. One only favour I have to ask; that is, that your Serenity should use your influence to secure my absolution at Rome and release from my monastic vows."

But, though everything had been arranged, Bragadin still delayed his departure. The Duke of Mantua still continued to ply him with presents and letters beginning, "The lover to the beloved"; and the Governors of Brescia had such grave suspicions that the duke intended to waylay and carry off Bragadin, that they deemed it necessary to have the whole country scoured, and to double the guards at the gates. At length, on November 20, Bragadin, Martinengo, and a large escort set out for Peschiera,

Verona, Padua, and Venice. The journey was arranged to look as like a triumph as possible. The authorities in each of the towns received Bragadin at the public palace, feasted and entertained him, consulted his wishes as to the details of his route, and supplied him with an escort suitable to a prince—"for the greater honour of his person," they always said. But in reality Bragadin was a prisoner, and he knew it. At Padua he made one effort to shake off his guards.¹ He announced that he would go to Venice down the Brenta by water, and one boat could not accommodate all his retinue. He chose this route because he knew that Piccolomini was lying in wait near Dolo, to carry him off to Mantua or elsewhere. But the scheme failed; for the governor assured him that a personage so dear to the Republic could not be allowed to reach the lagoons unattended. Upon November 26 Bragadin entered Venice, and found himself safe under the protection of "his natural prince."

VI. THE JAR IN THE TEN

Venice was in a state of expectation at the arrival of the famous Marco Bragadin Mamugnà—"Mammon Bragadin," as the people immediately nicknamed him. The Venetian government was always remarkable for the rapidity of its action, when it had once adopted a course; and in this case they did not belie their reputation. Bragadin arrived on the 26th, and was lodged in Ca' Dandolo, on the Giudecca.² On the 28th, by the advice of Contarini and Dolfin, two of his well-wishers and high officers of State, he sent Martinengo to the Council of Ten, to convey a letter addressed by himself to the doge, and to offer two jars of *anima d'oro*, as an earnest of his good

¹ *Archivio Veneto*, loc. cit. He had a hundred foot soldiers, fifty horse, and some gunners as his escort.

² See Dr. Antonio Pilot, "L'alchimista Marco Bragadin a Venezia," pub. in *Pagine Istriane*, fasc. ix.-x. (Capodistria: 1905), p. 218, note 2.

faith, upon the condition that these jars should be placed in a cupboard in the Mint, and the keys of the cupboard handed over to Bragadin, so that he might take from the jars the "medicine" as he required it for his work. Martinengo was introduced to the Council, and the two jars placed beside him on the floor. He reported at length on his relations with Bragadin, and then demanded the answer of the Ten as regarded the offer of his friend. The gift of the *anima d'oro* was accepted, and likewise Bragadin's conditions. The two jars were ordered to the Mint, and were carried out in solemn procession by Pietro Marcello, Governor of the Mint, accompanied by the heads of the Ten and Martinengo, who saw the precious powders stowed away, and himself carried the keys of the cupboard to the alchemist.¹

The government suspended judgment, but pursued their usual method of swiftly and silently securing everything in their own hands before proceeding to decisive action. They held Bragadin safe in Venice, and now they had his *anima d'oro*, his *pièce justificative*, under lock and key. Bragadin had the keys, it is true, but he could not touch his medicine without their knowledge and consent. From Bragadin's point of view, this present of the *anima d'oro* was intended to inspire confidence, and to justify any delays for which he might apply; and to make assurance doubly sure on this head, he took a further step. On December 23, Marcello, Master of the Mint, reports to the Ten: "This morning I went to the Mint. Bragadin came, accompanied by Martinengo, Contarini, and Dolfin. They were brought into the Mint by the Riva. We all went to the cupboard where the jars were placed a few days ago, and, having opened the cupboard with the keys Bragadin had brought with him, we placed therein a packet, sealed with four seals of Spanish wax on the strings, three on one side and one on the other. These seals, Bragadin tells me, are his own

¹ See Dr. Antonio Pilot, fasc. ix-x., *op. cit.* p. 220.

and one of Count Martinengo's. He further adds that this packet contains his secret and his Will. After that we all separated and went our ways." The government could hardly look for any greater marks of honesty. They now possessed Bragadin's "spirit of gold," and the receipt for making it, sealed with his own *intaglio* showing the figures of Philosophy and Truth.

But in the meantime, the good effects of this apparent candour ran a serious danger of being destroyed. The Brescian nugget had been tested, and found to be silver, coloured with bronze. This discovery might have put an end for ever to Bragadin and his secret, but that rumours of it reached his ears, and he made a countermove to efface its injurious results. A few days after hearing the report of the assayers in the Mint, the Council of Ten received from several of its own members an account of certain events which had taken place in the house of Contarini, where Bragadin had volunteered a demonstration of his powers. He had gone through his usual performance with his crucible, his orange and black powders, his wax and coloured water, and at the close he had made this speech, holding the contents of the crucible in his hand: "Gentlemen," he said, "take the gold; bear true witness to what you have seen; test it at your leisure. I hear that the piece which I made in the presence of Count Martinengo has been tested in your Mint, and is said not to be pure gold. I affirm that they mistake; it is pure gold. I will take a bit of this to test it" (and with that he cut off a piece with his knife), "and then we shall see who is wrong. I have come here of my own free will, to serve my natural prince. I rely upon his safe-conduct, and I assure you that I make no pretensions, nor desire aught but to live and die Marco Bragadin the Cypriote." Twice during his career in Venetian territory Bragadin had performed his operation of projection; both times reluctantly and at a pinch. On

both occasions it had served his purpose for a time, and allayed a growing suspicion. But this was a bank upon which he could not draw for ever. One more draft and his account will be run out, his cheque dishonoured and himself undone.

After hearing the report of their members, the council hesitated again; they thought the matter worth further consideration; and on December 13 the Senate appointed a committee of the Governors of the Mint, "to deal with this affair as quickly, dexterously, and prudently as possible, that we may find out the very truth upon the matter; persuading Bragadin with friendly exhortations to give us satisfaction on the point." So Bragadin was on his last trial—was face to face with the moment crucial for his prospects in Venice.

VII. ON THE GIUDECCA

Hitherto we have followed Bragadin's career from the inside only. To the outer world, however, his position appeared very different. There were no signs of immediate collapse, no appearance of a rotten core, no indication of doubtful foothold. To Venice he had come as the great Marco Bragadin, philosopher and alchemist, creator and dispenser of gold, world-famous and holy man, to whom the government showed all honour and regard. The great nobles, greedy for wealth, gave him a ready welcome, and supplied him with funds on which they hoped to gain an honest cent. per cent. The people, ready to adopt the fashion of the moment, believed in the Divine origin of his gift, and were prepared to stone those who should utter a doubt. Even before his arrival Bragadin had secured many wealthy and powerful connections; the families of Contarini, Dolfin, Dandolo, and Cornaro claimed friendship with him, and so his arrival in Venice was, in appearance, a triumphant success.¹ He hired the

¹ "Quivi cominciò a far spese regali," Cod. Gradenigo, quoted by Pilot, *op. cit.* p. 218.

beautiful palace of the Dandolo on the Giudecca,¹ with its gardens, *cortili*, fountains, and *loggie* looking over the lagoon, and there he established himself with an immense retinue of servants, actors, and musicians, and entertained his noble friends at masques and balls and banquets of regal magnificence. In fact, the *pura fascinazione* of Signor Marco and his golden reputation reigned supreme in Venice for a while. He possessed many gifts which attracted people, talking well and playing several instruments; while, to support his character as alchemist and intimate of the secret world, he was followed wherever he went by two enormous black dogs with gold collars round their necks; and it did not take the people long to determine that these two hounds were his familiar spirits. Gold there evidently was in the house on the Giudecca, but as yet it had come chiefly from the pockets of others, and not from Marco's laboratory. But, for all that, the *éclat* was brilliant, and the fame of Bragadin and his golden secret spread far beyond Venice. This is the account which a learned contemporary sends to a friend. "It is true," he writes, "that I have been to Venice to gain some information about this famous Mamugnà. They say that he really is able to transmute metals, and therefore many nobles run after him in the hope of having their debts paid. They court and almost adore him, and the least title they give him is that of 'most illustrious.' Presents pour in from all sides, even from princes. The price of coal, philosophers' cloaks, and crucibles has gone up. Every one professes mammonry. If you want my opinion, I don't believe a word of it. *Species rerum transmutari non possunt.*"²

Bragadin's success was certainly great. But underneath this blaze of notoriety there lay the ominous order of the Senate, calling his case for immediate

¹ Sansovino, "Venezia, Città nobilissima e Singolare," *in vita* Cicogna.

² Giovanni Bonifacio, *Lettere*, No. 78 (Rovigo: 1627).

judgment, with its rigid and uncompromising demand to know "the truth of these matters." And his admirers, his noble and needy friends, were growing impatient, and reiterated their desire *di subito veder oro*—to see gold straightway. This caused much uneasiness to Bragadin; for, as he carefully explained, gold could not be seen in this sudden and summary way; a philosopher requires, above all things, time and a "serene mind." But explanations were hardly acceptable while debts remained to be paid and promises to be fulfilled. In fact, the gale of public fame and private impatience was driving the alchemist's bark farther and faster than he desired, and in the background hung the order of the Senate, waiting to be discharged.

VIII. "TILL GOD INSPIRES"

The resolution of the Senate was communicated to Bragadin two days after Christmas. He had calculated on rousing cupidity, securing confidence, and then delaying all action from month to month upon the plea of requiring leisure, while he lived upon the credulity and the gold of others. But the rapidity of the government upset his scheme. Reluctantly, "renitente volontà," with shrinking will, he turned to give battle to a power he could not hope to control. In answer to the request of the committee, he forwarded a letter to the doge¹—an interminable windy letter, whose core and meaning is reached only after much difficulty and wading through pages of bitter complaint that the proofs of his power which he has already given have not secured him credence. He assures the doge "that it is his nature to act spontaneously, and not when he is forced. For this power is a great gift from God, and he would leave God to make use of him as He pleases." He concludes—some instinct that excuses would not avail compelling

¹ *Revista Vienesè, ut sup.*

him—by an appeal to the cupidity of the government : "I do not desire to deceive you in aught, and if compelled I can, in a very short time, convert my powder into purest gold. But I warn you that if I act thus we shall lose the notable advantage to be derived from allowing the powder to multiply, which I can cause it to do at the rate of three hundred per cent. This would take a long time, but at the end I could, with part of this multiplied powder, produce a sum sufficient to allow you to taste the benefit of my skill, while the rest I would put to breed again. Your serenity, then, must choose whether you will at once see that gold which my powder can now make—it will be a comparatively insignificant amount—or will you let me put it to multiply? Finally, I beg that in any case I may not be disturbed during these holy days of Christmas; that I may have leisure to attend to my soul's health, the repose of my body, the soothing of my tormented spirit, and, in short, that I may prepare myself for the service of your serenity."

Bragadin's friends were for taking him at his own time and waiting till the inspiration came upon him. But the committee, under the imperative order of the Senate, refused to delay. They continued to urge Bragadin, while he floundered deeper and deeper into the mire, from which he knew that there was no escape compatible with success. On December 29 he sent a formal communication to the committee. He "begged to be left alone that week, as he was attending to his soul; he had confessed, and hoped to take the sacrament, and so receive a holy joy. But next week he would comply with their demands." The answer came back that his request was reasonable, that he might take his own time, but must appoint a day in the following week. The day agreed on was January 6, Epiphany.

IX. AT THE PALACE¹

"On January 6," so runs the report, "Bragadin and Martinengo came to visit the doge. They asked if he would like to see the operation performed, and a proof made of Bragadin's power. The doge replied in the affirmative, and a servant was despatched to buy a pound of quicksilver and a crucible; while the privy councillors, the heads of the law court, and the Masters of the Mint were summoned to attend. A fire of coal was prepared in the doge's private chamber; and when the servant returned with the quicksilver and the crucible, Signor Marco took the crucible in his hand and said that it was too large for the quantity of silver, and that he would have required a fire twice as large. Then he explained to all that by reason of its high edges the crucible was of no use, and took another smaller one which he had with him. This he handed round to the company, that they might see whether there was anything in it or no; and all saw that it was clean and free from suspicion. Then he took the quicksilver and folded it in the handkerchief of Pasquale Cicogna, the doge's nephew, and pressed it out into a plate of white metal; and because it had not all come out of the handkerchief, he squeezed it again, and made the rest pass through, and flung away some dirt that remained in the handkerchief. Then he took the plate and handed it to Galeazzo Secco, the doge's chamberlain, and wished him to pour the silver into the crucible; Secco was afraid of spilling it, so Signor Bragadin himself poured it out. Then he took a small folded paper, which he opened, and inside was seen a very fine orange-coloured powder. Then, turning to the illustrious Alexander Zorzi, Bragadin said, 'Do you recognize it? Look at it well; is it some of my medicine from the Mint?' Then he took a little on the point of a knife and threw it on the

¹ Cod. Cicogna, *ut sup.*

quicksilver in the crucible. After this he opened another paper containing some black stuff in small pieces, and threw one of the pieces into the crucible, saying that it was of no value ; and to prove it threw the rest, paper and all, into the fire. Then he took a piece of red wax and placed it in the crucible on the top of the silver. One of the Council said, ' If that stuff is of no importance, why do you put it into the crucible ? ' and Marco replied, ' I don't intend you to know why I put it there ; I mean to keep that secret to myself.' Then, when he was about to take up the crucible, he said, ' I must shake the sleeves of my cloak well, so that no one may say that I have slipped gold into the crucible.' So he shook them well, twice over. Then, taking the crucible, he said, ' If you do not all of you presently acknowledge that this stuff is gold, I am ready to be branded a scoundrel.' Then he called Quirini and Zorzi to see him put the crucible on the fire, and to witness the operation ; and, turning to the doge, he said, ' Serene prince, will it please your serenity to come nearer, for this operation is performed on your behalf.' So his serenity rose and came to look on, while Quirini sat down on a bench near the fire. Then Signor Marco put the crucible on the coals, and began to blow, and made the others help him. And presently one heard the stuff beginning to boil, and making a noise as though one had thrown salt on the fire ; and this went on some little while. Then Priuli, the councillor, rising to see what was going forward, said, ' One would think they were frizzling pitch by the noise it makes.' After a bit Signor Marco, raising the lid so that we could see the quicksilver boiling, cried, ' You see how it boils. All this will soon be gold ' ; and he put the lid on again, and covered it over with live coal, and set to blowing once more. And when the boiling and frizzling had ceased somewhat, he called for a pitcher of water, and taking the crucible off the fire, he put it in the pitcher, plunging it well in. Then he drew it out immediately,

and, placing the crucible on the window-sill, he turned out a lump of gold of the shape of the crucible, and handed it round for all to see and examine. The Councillor Donado alone kept always in the distance, without caring to see anything."

So for the third time Bragadin had made his famous operation in the hope of delaying exposure. But this was his last attempt to draw upon an exhausted account. Two days after the scene at the palace, the assayers of the Mint handed in their report: "Glory to God. Test made of a lump of metal committed to us by the Masters of the Mint, which is found by us, testers in the Mint, to contain four carats of silver and four carats of bronze." With this brief and final document Bragadin's career and prospects in Venice are closed for ever. Some few of his acquaintances still clung to him, inspired by cupidity that could not believe itself balked, or, as in the case of Martinengo, by a real belief in Bragadin that rose superior to all failure. But the tide of popularity ebbed more rapidly than it had flowed; and for the Carnival of 1590 Paolo Sarpi invented the masquerade of Bragadin, the Mammon God.¹ The people hooted him openly in the streets; and, after enduring the contumely for a month or more, he escaped to Padua, where the Cornaro family offered him a house and protection.

X. FLIGHT

Little more remains to be told; but that little lies outside Venice. It was not the Venetians who were to score off and close for ever Bragadin's reckoning with the world. The pressure of his debts, the pursuit of his creditors, who had already secured the

¹ Bianchi-Giovani, *Biog. di Frà Paolo Sarpi*, i. 110, 118. See Cicogna, *Miscel.* 1919, where a popular song on Bragadin may be found. See, too, Pilot's work, where we find a street song ending with the refrain

O che sorte hà sta città.

sequestration of his goods, and his proximity to Venice, made Padua by no means a safe or pleasant home for Bragadin. Moreover, the Senate had considered a proposal to arrest and punish the man who had fooled it. The motion was rejected solely on the ground that such action would compromise the dignity of the state, and publish the fact that the Venetians had been gulled.¹ Worse than all, Bragadin could not trust his host Cornaro, who still pretended to believe in his gift, and continued to clamour for gold. These circumstances alarmed Bragadin so much that he resolved to quit Venetia. But where should he go? He had already received a letter from the Duke of Bavaria, couched in the most flattering terms, addressed to "The Most Illustrious Marco Bragadin, my dearest friend,"² assuring him that the fame of his secret had spread throughout all Germany, and asking to be numbered among his admirers. Bavaria, then, was open to him. The other alternative was France. He had written to Henry IV., having reason to believe that at the French court he would find a ready welcome and honourable terms. Henry replied to his ambassador at Venice, enclosing a letter for Bragadin, and ordering de Maisse to open negotiations with the alchemist.³ The letter is a curious specimen of the attitude upon which Bragadin and his fellows could always count—a mixture of curiosity and hope, a desire to see the new thing, and a lurking expectation that there was some truth in the man's pretensions; enough, at least, to justify a trial. But Bragadin never received Henry's letter; for the French ambassador replied to his master that the alchemist was a miserable charlatan, already exposed, and therefore he would not deliver the king's enclosure. So Bragadin resolved to seek refuge in Bavaria. On August 6 he set out

¹ See Pilot, *op. cit.* pp. 220, 221, where we have the arguments against this step.

² Cod. Cicogna, *ut. sup.*

³ Daru, *op. cit.* xxviii.

for a ride in the country, as he said. He galloped to Bassano, passed the Alps without stopping, and reached Landshut, near Munich, where the duke was residing.

XI. "VELUT VOLATILIS FUGIT UMBRA"

Then follows a most singular series of letters¹ from Bragadin to his friends, announcing his honourable reception at the Bavarian court, the growing importance of his position, his intimate relations with the duke. By his own account, which the duke's letters in a measure confirm, Bragadin was once more on the full flood of success, enjoying a St. Martin's summer of renown, blossoming again in the warmth of princely favours. The duke, he says, is "a very saint, worthy to be adored for his innate goodness and his angelic temper." He has taken a wonderful fancy to Bragadin; has promised to obtain his absolution at Rome: "My dear and sweet lord is only waiting the election of the new pope. I cannot express myself better than by saying that I seem to be dealing with an angel from Paradise. I only wish those rich old gluttons at Venice, puffed up with ignorance, could see the way my dear and only prince treats me. He often says, 'I am all-content if only Signor Bragadin be with me.'" And the duke writes to the Cornaro in terms almost as warm. A very pretty duet; Bragadin's *pura fascinatione* is clearly at work once more. Then follow invitations, in Bragadin's name, to the whole Cornaro family, and a present of four magnificent carriage horses, from the duke, to bring them to Munich. The postal service between the capital and Innsbruck is placed at Marco's disposal. He receives a monopoly of all the corn in Bavaria, and offers to make a present of some to the doge; for Venice is in need of grain, and Bragadin wishes to bear no ill-will to "his natural prince." But the affair did not go

¹ *Revista Vienesè, ut sup.*

smoothly, and only a miserable little dribble found its way into the granaries of Venice. Meantime Marco is not neglecting his "philosophy,"¹ and writes continually for glass retorts, mortars, vials, jars, from the furnaces of Murano; for minerals, drugs, "Cyprian balsam of terebinth"; all things, in short, that are "necessary for a great and skilled philosopher at work upon distillation"; for the duke is waiting till *anima d'oro* shall generate, multiply, and finally produce gold.

But, as was inevitable with a charlatan, this apparent success rested upon a rotten foundation. This time the weak point was Bragadin's relations with Rome—a point where the ground had already trembled beneath his feet. His absolution and release from his monastic vows were not yet secured. All had been put in order through the kind offices of a Spanish priest, an intimate of the pope, and Sixtus was ready to sign the necessary dispensations whenever Bragadin should pay the sum of twelve thousand ducats into the papal treasury; the owner of *anima d'oro* could afford that amount. But Bragadin's collapse at Venice rendered it impossible for him to come by the ducats at once, and the whole matter hung fire. Meantime, Sixtus died, and Pope Gregory, with whom the alchemist had now to deal, was a man of singular purity and austerity of manners. When the Duke of Bavaria's representative, Minutio, mentioned the case, his Holiness would not hear of any indulgence, and seems to have expressed an opinion that the duke should rather make an end of a scamp, an apostate friar, more than suspected of dealings with the powers of darkness. With this angry message Minutio left Rome for Munich.

While this storm was gathering in the south, the sky was still serene in Bavaria. The duet between the duke and Bragadin goes on. There is a crescendo

¹ "Filosofia" is frequently used to express both witchcraft and alchemy. Cf. *La Signora di Monza*,

of satisfaction in Marco's letters about himself. Suddenly these cease, and we hear that he is in prison; that he is secretly tried, confesses, and is condemned to lose his head, and to be burned as a sorcerer, his two black dogs along with him.¹ Minutio had arrived from Rome; the duke found himself baulked of his desire to see gold. The combination was fatal to Bragadin. On April 26, 1591, after three-quarters of a year of magnificence in Munich, he was beheaded in the public square by the executioner of Landshut. In mockery of his golden fame he was bound in golden cords, and had a golden halter round his neck.²

So sank his castles in the air, and vanished into thin smoke. Marco Bragadin, his dogs, his jars, his *anima d'oro*, fall back into the obscurity whence they had emerged for a while; the dark gulf closes over them—*velut volatiles fugiunt umbræ*. From the very first there was never any hope of permanent success. Bragadin is a type peculiar to his age. There were hundreds of adventurers like him roaming over Europe. The interest of their problem lies in this: What end did these men really propose to themselves? How did they forecast their career so as to secure anything like

¹ See Doglioni, *Historia Veneta* (Venezia: MDXCVIII.), p. 976.

² See *Revista Vienes*. Also *Beyträge zur vaterländischen Historie, Geographie, Statistik und Landwirthschaft* herausgegeben von Lorenz Westenrieder, i. (München, 1788); *Aus dem Tagbuch des Abraham Kern von Wasserburg*, p. 154: "Den April 26, 1591, hat Marx Bragadin, sonst Manulguatro genannt, welchen Ir Drhl. herzog Wilhelmb in Baiern als ain beriemten Alchimisten und Goldmacher mit grossen Unkosten heraus aus Italia bringen lassen, auch sich bey 3 viertl Jahren herauss zu München wie ein graf Stattlich und in 36 Persohnen gehalten, aber in erfahrung gebracht worden, dass er nicht allein höchst ernant Grtl. Urhl. in Bayern, sondern den herzog von Mantua und die herrschaft Venedig selb umb vil roog [*sic*] fl. betrogen, seyn Urthl. überstanden. Dann er durch den scharfrichter von landtshtut zu München auf ainer Bin mit dem Schwerth vom Leben zum todt, gleichwol übel getroffen, hingericht, benebens daselbs auf dem Plaz ain Roth angestrichener galgen, daran ein güldener Strickh gehangen, aufgericht, auch er Bragadin mit vergolden Stricken gebunden worden." *Supplied me by Prof. N. Jorga*

a permanent success? It is probable that they did not look for permanence; it did not enter into their scheme. They traded on curiosity, greed, credulity, on the weaknesses of their contemporaries. They intended to make for each day sufficient for each day's needs. Their skill consisted in playing with circumstances, in combining or counterpoising the people with whom they came in contact. The excitement of the game was its own sufficient reward. It did not matter that it was a game which could have one issue only—failure in the end.

Paolo Sarpi, the Man

THERE is a Scotch proverb which says, "It's ill work chapping at a dead man's yett." Whatever may have been the intention of the man who framed that aphorism, its truth will come home to all who, out of the fragmentary records bequeathed by contemporaries and the voiceless pages of epistolary correspondence, have endeavoured first to recover and then to display the living portrait of a man long dead and gone. The proverb is peculiarly true in the case of Fra Paolo Sarpi, for not only is he dead and buried nigh upon three hundred years, but during his very lifetime he suffered a species of burial. He entered a monastery at the age of thirteen, and made open profession of his vows before he was twenty. Under the rigid rule of monastic life one day resembles another, and we are deprived of all those little touches of humour, of temper, of sentiment which, in the early lives of distinguished persons, so clearly indicate the manner of men they will come to be.

Nevertheless with the help of his own writings, his official opinions presented to the Government in his capacity of Councillor to the State, his informal letters to friends, in which, as he himself declares, "I write as I would speak,"¹ in the current opinions about him expressed by contemporaries, above all, thanks to that labour of loving hands, Fra Fulgenzio's Life of his

¹ "Scrivo . . . il mio concetto come lo parlerei a bocca," *Lettere di Frà Paolo Sarpi*, i. 112 (Firenze: 1863). There is a further collection of *Lettere inedite*, edited by Castellani (Venice, Visentini: 1892).

friend and master, we may reconstruct for ourselves some likeness of the great Servite friar.

Sarpi was born on August 14, 1552. His father was Francesco Sarpi, of San Vito, in Friuli, who had migrated to Venice; his mother, Elizabeth Morelli, a lady of good, though not of noble, Venetian family. Sarpi took after his mother; was a delicate child, thoughtful, silent, studious. His father died when he was young, and his mother entrusted the boy's education to her brother, Don Ambrogio, a priest who kept a school. Here the boy was worked too hard for his slender constitution, and suffered in consequence. He grew shy, retiring, melancholy. His companions called him "La Sposa," and paid him the compliment of avoiding loose conversation when he appeared, but he was not popular. At the age of twelve Don Ambrogio could teach him no more, and he was passed on to Gian Maria Capella, a Servite friar, master in theology, mathematics, and philosophy. Under Gian Maria's teaching young Sarpi discovered the real bent of his intellect, towards mathematics and the exact sciences, and doubtless acquired that liking for the Servite order which led him, in spite of his mother and his uncle, to take the habit in November, 1566.¹

A period of close application to his studies was followed by a journey to Mantua, where Sarpi won the favour of Duke William, who was never tired of putting difficult and sometimes ridiculous questions to the young student (though Sarpi soon wearied of the game). Under this powerful patronage, however, he became theologian to the duke, and the Bishop of Mantua gave him the chair of Theology with a readership in Casuistry and Canon Law. And here, in the process of teaching, Sarpi learned the use of those weapons

¹ It is a curious and significant coincidence that the young Pietro Sarpi changed his name to Paolo when he entered the Order of the Servites, as he has always been accused of abandoning the Petrine for Pauline side of the Church.

with which he subsequently made such sprightly play.

His studies continued at a high pressure. Eight hours a day of Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Mathematics, Medicine, Anatomy, Botany. The pile of his notebooks grew in height. He never allowed a difficulty to escape him; he would follow it up till he was able to say, "I've beaten it, now I'll think no more on it."¹

His sojourn at Mantua was not spent entirely among books, however. The bishop, Boldrino, was his personal friend; so was Fra Girolamo Bernerio, the Dominican inquisitor; so was Camillo Oliva, secretary to Cardinal Gonzaga. But the death of Boldrino, the perpetual questions of the duke, and the buffoonery of his attendants, rendered life at the court of Mantua distasteful; and in 1574 Sarpi left that city for Milan, where he found the great Carlo Borromeo engaged in reforming his diocese.

Sarpi was soon in high favour with the cardinal archbishop; but that did not shield him from the first of the many attacks which he was destined to experience in the course of his life. He was accused of heresy because he confessed that he could not find the complete Trinity in the first verse of Genesis. His defence is characteristic and noteworthy, showing a legal rather than a theological turn of mind. He alleged that there was connivance between his accuser—a jealous friar—and his judge, the Inquisitor of Milan; he asserted, and proved, that the judge was incompetent, through his ignorance of Hebrew. On these grounds he refused to answer in Milan, and appealed to Rome, where the case was quashed.

In the following year Sarpi received a call to teach philosophy in the Servite monastery in Venice. He set out. It was summer; on the way, between Vicenza and Padua, along those hot and dusty roads, he was

¹ "L'ho pur vinta, or più non ci voglio pensare," *Vita del Padre Paolo Sarpi, Opere*, vi. 6 (Helmstat: 1765).

seized with heat apoplexy. He sent for a barber to bleed him : the man refused without the presence of a doctor. Sarpi said, "Go and fetch one ; but just let me see if your lancet is sharp." When the man returned, the operation was over.

For the next four years Sarpi continued to lecture and study in his monastery at Santa Fosca, where he steadily won for himself a foremost place in the ranks of his Order. In 1579 he was elected provincial, and named to serve on the committee appointed to bring the rules of the Order into unison with the Tridentine decrees. This necessitated a journey to Rome to consult with the cardinal protector of the Order and with the pope. Sarpi drew up the chapter on Judgments. The work was considered a masterpiece, and one dictum in it has attracted the attention and admiration of jurists. Sarpi declares, and perhaps for the first time, that the prison ought to be reformatory, not merely punitive.

The new constitutions were approved, and Sarpi returned to his duties as provincial of his Order. His rule was severe, incorruptible, sound. No judgment of his was ever reversed on appeal, and the cardinal protector, Santa Severina, declared to an appellant that "the findings of your provincial admit of no reply."

During these Roman visits Fra Paolo made the acquaintance of many distinguished persons, of Farnese, of Santa Severina, head of the Inquisition, of Castagna, afterwards Pope Urban VII., of Dr. Navarro, who had known Loyola, above all, of Cardinal Bellarmine, with whom he was subsequently brought into violent controversial relations. But the two men personally liked each other, and Bellarmine did not fail in the offices of friendship when, much later on, he warned the Venetian ambassador that plots were being laid against Fra Paolo's life. It is a pleasure, moreover, to record that on the appearance of a scurrilous biography of Sarpi,

Bellarmino expressed to the pope the following opinion: "Holy Father, this book is a tissue of lies. I know Fra Paolo; I know him for a man of irreproachable habits. I assure you if we allow such calumnies to be published, all the dishonour will be ours."¹

Indeed Sarpi made for himself a very strong position in Rome. It was even thought that he might reach the purple. Bellarmine, at all events, believed that his services might have been retained for the Curia by the gift of *un fiore secco*—a dried flower, as he called it—by which he meant a see without emoluments. But Sarpi was not ambitious, he took little pains to conciliate, and the jealousy of more persistent aspirants easily blocked his path. He was in Rome for the last time in 1597. From this, his fifth journey, he returned to Venice, which he seldom quitted again till his death.

And now that we have our frate safely in his cell, now that he is on the very threshold of the larger field of European ecclesiastical politics, let us see how much of his daily life, his habit of mind and of body, we can recover from the testimony of his contemporaries. He was a man of medium height, with a large forehead, arched eyebrows, a long nose, a broad nasal bone—remarked by Lavater—a strong, large hand and thick-set body, eyes very black and piercing. He was excessively thin, and his health was seldom good. He had his own peculiar way of doctoring himself; he believed in violent changes of food, of hours, of habits. When out of sorts he would turn day into night, night into day. His medicines were cassia, manna, tamarind—the same that the Venetian *popolo* still consumes. His ailments, which he called his "notices to quit," he treated lightly, and fought them chiefly by the vigour

¹ "Beatissimo Padre, questo libello è un tessuto di menzogne. Io conosco Fra Paolo, e lo conosco uomo da bene e d'intemerati costumi; e se calunnie così fatte si lasciassero pubblicare da noi, tutto nostro sarebbe il disonore," Bianchi Giovini, *Biografia*, etc., ii. 174.

of his spirits. His high courage was his best medicine. Courage and coolness he possessed in a singular degree, and he had abundant need of both. He was a fidgety patient, asking his physicians many questions, and frequently declaring that he knew more about his illness than his doctors did—which I dare say was true. The frailness of his body, and the austerity of his habits, preserved to his senses an extraordinary delicacy of perception. He always declared that his enemies would never succeed in poisoning him through his food; and he refused the government's proposal to appoint an official taster. His memory had been well trained in his youth, and was prodigiously retentive. It seems to have been largely what is called a visual memory—he recalled the look of a page, then what was on the page. To Sarpi it seemed a mechanical quality, and he always spoke of it as that "excellent weakness." He suffered much from cold, and tried to combat it by holding warm iron in his hands; but I suspect that chilblains had the better of him. His friend Sir Henry Wotton, the English ambassador, describes him as sitting in his cell "fenced with a castle of paper about his chair and over his head when he was either reading or writing alone, for he was of our Lord of St. Albans' opinion that all air is predatory, and especially hurtful when the spirits are most employed." This cell was extremely bare—a table, a box for his books, a bench, a crucifix above a human skull, a picture of Christ in the garden, a little bed, to which he preferred a shake-down on his book-box—that was all. His diet was spare as his lodging—vegetables, hardly any meat, a little white wine, toast—his fine palate appreciating the great varieties of flavour obtained by that excellent method of cooking. His old friend, Frate Giulio, attended to him, saw that he was washed, dressed, brushed, etc. From the convent registers we learn that two pairs of sheets lasted him twenty years—thanks, no doubt, to the shake-down. He was a devourer of books, and he had them bound before

he read them. I suppose most of them were like modern German editions. Mathematics were his pastime, and these he kept for the afternoons. Sir Henry Wotton adds some further touches: "He was one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of humanity, the very pattern of that precept, 'Quanto doctior, tanto submissior,' and is enough alone to demonstrate that knowledge, well digested, *non inflat*. Excellent in positive, excellent in scholastical and polemical divinity; a rare mathematician even in the most abstruse parts thereof, and yet withal, so expert in the history of plants as if he had never perused any book but Nature. Lastly a great canonist, which was the title of his ordinary service with the state, and certainly in the time of the pope's interdict they had their principal light from him." Sarpi's manner was excessively ceremonious and urbane. Times were dangerous, and politeness is an excellent weapon of defence. He talked little, but possessed the gift of making others talk. When he did join in the conversation his tone was persuasive, not dogmatic. He cared most, as Fra Fulgentio says, to know the truth—"Una gran curiosità d'intendere come realmente le cose fossero passate." And this gave to his attitude a certain air of aloofness, indifference, disdain, irritating to those who were defending a *parti pris*, and led Sarpi to say that nothing so much as the truth rendered superstitious men obstinate ("Osservo questa esser la proprietà della verità che fa più ostinati gli animi supersensitiziosi").¹ It also induced him to lay down a rule for his own guidance: "I never," he says, "tell a lie, but the truth not to everybody" ("Non dico mai buggie, ma la verità non a tutti"),²

¹ *Lett.* ii. 160.

² See *Encyc. Brit.* s.v. "Sarpi"; and again, *Le falsità non dico mai mai, ma la verità non a ognuno*, Dohna to the Palatine, July 23, 1608; Ritter, *Die Union und Heinrich IV.* 1607-1609" (München: 1874), p. 79. Von Dohna's despatches are of the highest value as throwing light on Sarpi's attitude towards Protestantism and the spread of the Lutheran doctrine in Venice. On that point see also

not because it is not well to tell it always, but, as he remarks, because not everybody can bear it.

The temper of his mind was scientific—mathematics were his favourite study—and the scientific method is apparent throughout all his work. "I never," he writes, "venture to deny anything on the ground of impossibility, for I am well aware of the infinite variety in the operations of God and Nature" ("Io mai non ardisco negare cosa alcuna riferita sotto titolo d'impossibilità, sapendo molto bene l'infinita varietà delle opere della natura e di Dio").¹ In respect of this scientific quality Sarpi is a very modern man. He is talking about the merits of the various writers of his day, and whom does he select for praise as the only "original writers"? Vieta and Gilbert, two men of science²—just as we might say that Darwin and the scientific writers were, in a sense, the only original authors of our day.

Linked with this genuine love of discovery for discovery's sake—this curiosity as to how things really were, which is perhaps the essence of the scientific spirit—Sarpi also possessed an exquisite modesty. He never displays one iota of jealousy, and is absolutely without desire for notoriety. Yet Galileo acknowledges assistance in the construction of the telescope from *mio padre e maestro Sarpi*. The famous physician Fabrizio of Acquapendente exclaims, "Oh! how many things has Father Paul taught me in anatomy." The valves in the veins were discovered by Sarpi. Gilbert of Colchester ranks him above della Porta as an authority on magnetism. In his treatise on *L'arte di ben pensare*, the Method of

Alvise Cornaro, *La Vita Sobria*, p. 1: "Introdotti in Italia da non molto in qua, anzi alla mia etade, tre mali costumi il primo e l'adulazione e la cerimonia, l'altro il viver secondo l'opinione Luterana, il terzo la crapula."

¹ *Lett.* i. 229.

² See *Quart. Rev.* No. 352, p. 379.

thinking correctly, he certainly anticipates the sensationalism of Locke.¹

Many of his curious inventions, and more of his ideas, were freely placed at the disposal of his friends, and no acknowledgment in public ever sought. Indeed Sarpi, in this respect, lived to the height of his own generous maxim, "Let us imitate God and Nature; they give, they do not lend." Twice only does he assert his priority. It is important to note the occasion, for it affords some clue as to Sarpi's personal estimate of the relative value of his works. Writing to a friend in France on two different occasions, he exclaims, "I was the first to affirm that no sovereign had ever freed the clergy from allegiance to himself" ("Io prima del Barclay scrissi che sebbene quasi tutti i principi avessero concesso esenzioni ai cherici, mai però non si potrebbe trovare che essi fossero per alcuno liberati"); and again: "Io, pel primo in Italia, fui oso bandire che niuno imperante sciolsse i cherici dal suo potere."² Sarpi is right to guard his reputation here, for it is precisely on the point of ecclesiastical politics, and not in the region of science, however brilliant his accomplishments may there have been, that his real distinction rests.

Thus far I have endeavoured to represent some of the qualities which characterized the mind of Paolo Sarpi. But let us press a little deeper, and discover, if possible, his fundamental views of life, his inner religion, the faith by which he lived. He was a strict

¹ *Arte di ben pensare*, MS. Marciana, cl. ii. Ital. cod. 129. Sarpi says that there are four methods of philosophizing—that is, of acquiring knowledge: (a) by the reason alone; (b) by the senses alone; (c) by the reason first, and then by the senses; (d) by the senses first, and then by the reason. The first method is the worst, for by it we get to know what we want things to be, not what they are; the third method is bad, for we are tempted to force what is to assume the form we desire; the second method is sound but rough, and leads us only a little way, giving us facts rather than causes; the fourth is the best method permitted to us in this wretched life.

² *Lett.* i. 313, ii. 414.

observer of outward forms and ceremonies ; so strict, indeed, that his enemies were unable to fasten upon him any charge which they could sustain. The cut of his shoes was once impugned by a foolish but troublesome brother ; Sarpi, however, triumphantly demonstrated their orthodoxy, and it became a proverb in the Order that even Fra Paolo's slippers were above suspicion.

But beneath the surface of these formalities, I think that Sarpi was essentially sceptical as to all human presentations of the truth, outside the exact sciences. And, as so often happens, this scepticism was accompanied by a stoical resignation to fate, and a profound belief in the Divine governance of the universe. It was this scepticism which kept him inside the Church of Rome, in spite of his dislike to its excessive temporal claims and worldly tendencies. He never showed the smallest inclination to change his native creed for any of the various creeds which the chaos of Reformation bestowed upon Europe. The temper of his mind—eminently scientific—prevented him from enjoying that strong externalizing faith which allowed Luther to believe that he had engaged in a personal conflict with the devil. Sarpi was Italian, not German ; he was not superstitious, and an Italian who is not superstitious is very frequently sceptical. This scepticism, however, did not leave him without a religion, its corrosive power could not reach further than the human formulas in which men endeavoured to confine the truth. Below all these lay the core of his faith. In his letters no phrases occur more frequently than those which declare his conviction that all is in the hands of God. While in constant danger of his life he refused to adopt the precautions recommended by his friends, being convinced that he would not be killed before the appointed time. When he sees the course of events taking a turn destructive of his hopes, again he affirms his confidence that the issue will be for good. “What human

folly is this to desire to know the future! To what purpose? To avoid it? Is not that a patent impossibility? If you avoid it, then it was not the future."¹ "Fate guides the willing," he said, "but compels the reluctant,"² an aphorism which we may parallel with Dante's noble line, "In la sua volontade è nostra pace," or with that simpler and diviner formula of submission, "Thy will be done."

But there was a further principle in the religion of Fra Paolo, a principle which saved him from the dangers of fatalism. He was perfectly convinced that men were the agents of the Divine will, and that it was man's first duty to act, to take advantage of the fitting occasion which presented itself almost as a Divine injunction to use it. This doctrine of the *καίρὸς*, of the fitting opportunity, is repeated again and again throughout the letters.³ "In all human action," he writes, "opportunity is everything. It is well to do God's service without regard of consequences, but only if all the circumstances are propitious. Without that, such action cannot merit the name of good, and may even be a hindrance to successful action in the future, when the season is ripe." Again: "As for myself, being well aware that to use an unpropitious occasion is little pleasing to the Divine Majesty, I never cease to make myself more able and more ready to act when the right moment arrives; and, like the artificer, I gather material when not at work. If the time should never come for me, what I have gathered may be of service to another."

It is a cold religion, perhaps, but a very strong one; with a deep taproot of faith, and an abundant field for

¹ *Lett.* i. 270: "Che miseria è questa umana di voler sapere il futuro! A che fine? per schifarlo? Non è questa la più espressa contraddizione che possi esser al mondo? Se si schiferà non era futuro!"

² *Lett.* ii. 126, 429: "I fati conducono chi vuole, e chi non vuole strascina."

³ *Lett.* i. 269.

the play of human practical judgment, for the development of human action. And this is a proof of its goodness, that in spite of all Fra Paolo suffered—in body, from ill-health and the assassin's dagger; in mind, from calumny, from apparent failure, from isolation—his religion was strong enough to sustain and strengthen his whole life, and a contemporary observer, Diodati, was forced to admit that "Every blow falls paralyzed and blunted on that sweetness and maturity of affections and spirit, which raise him to a height far above all human passions."¹

And now, before proceeding to an account of Sarpi's life-work—to a narrative of what he found to do in the field of ecclesiastical politics, it will be as well to see what his views upon this subject were, and what weapons of offence and defence were at his disposal.

We must bear in mind that throughout the controversy upon which Sarpi was about to engage, it is not the Church which he is attacking but the Roman Curia, and the new tendencies which it represented—new, that is, in so far as they gave a new form to the mediæval claims of the Papacy. Sarpi observes that the Curia would like to give to the Pope not the *primatus* but the *totatus*² in the world of ecclesiastical politics. He has a distinct name for the policy which was represented by Spain, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition—he calls it the *Dia-catholicon*. For the Jesuits, whom he conceived to be the life and spirit of the *Dia-catholicon*, are reserved his most pungent irony, his most crushing attacks. He hated them because he thought they were not only a serious and unwarranted danger to temporal princes, and destructive of good citizenship, but even more, because he was convinced that they were leading the Church upon

¹ Mor. Ritter, *op. cit.* p. 131: "Tutti i colpi vengono al ammorzarsi e rintuzzarsi in quella sua dolcezza e maturità d'affetto e di spirito che lo tiene quasi fuori di ogni commovimenti."

² *Lett.* i. 275.

a false track; confounding the things of earth with the things of heaven, and introducing disorder into a divinely ordered world.¹

The political situation stood thus: the Curia could always rely on the dread of Spain to enforce its supremacy upon an unwilling Italy; France was the only counterpoise to Spain; England and the Protestant princes of Germany were too far off, and as Sarpi said, they were quite unknown in Venice; and this combination of Spain and the Curia was developed by the Jesuits for the furtherance of their special ends. Sarpi was convinced, as he says, that "if the Jesuits were defeated, religion would be reformed of itself."² And what his aspirations were in the direction of reform can be gathered from his letters, from such explicit passages as this: "I imagine," he writes, "that the State and the Church are two separate empires—composed, however, each of them, by the same human beings. The one is entirely celestial, the other terrestrial; each has its proper limits of jurisdiction, its proper arms, its proper bulwarks. No region is common to both. . . . How, then, can those who walk by different roads clash together? Christ has said that He and His disciples were not of this world, and St. Paul has declared that our citizenship is in heaven."³ Again, Sarpi argues that the Church, being a divine institution, cannot ever be really injured by the State, which is a human institution.⁴ He wishes to mark the two

¹ *Lett.* ii. 6: "Mescolare il cielo colla terra."

² *Lett.* ii. 217.

³ *Lett.* i. 312: "Io immagino che il regno e la chiesa siano due stati, composti però degli stessi uomini; al tutto celeste uno, e terreno l'altro; aventi propria sovranità, difesi da proprie armi et fortificazioni; di nulla possessori in commune; impediti di muoversi, comechessia, scambievolmente la guerra. Come s'avrebbero a cozzare se procedono per sì diversa via? Cristo ebbe detto che Esso e i discepoli non erano di questo mondo; e Paolo santo dichiara che il nostro conversare è nei cieli."

⁴ *Lett.* i. 275.

as entirely distinct from one another, moving on different planes. If asked, what then is the field of action left to the Church, if she is to interfere in no matters secular and temporal, Sarpi replies that to the Church he leaves the wide field of influence, through precept, through example, through conviction. Philosophy is the food, religion the medicine, of the mind. As the doctor to the body, so the cleric to the soul.¹ Let the Church make men good, voluntarily, freely, of their own accord, through conviction, and they will not govern wrongly, nor will they ever run counter to their nursing mother. The phrases are such as we might expect in the mouth of a reformer, and yet I think it certain that Sarpi was no Protestant, in spirit or in form. Diodati, the translator of the Bible, who had come to Venice with high hopes of winning Fra Paolo and his followers to an open secession from Rome, reluctantly admits that "Sarpi is rooted in that most dangerous maxim that God cares nothing for externals, provided the mind and the heart are in pure and direct relation with Himself. And so fortified is he in this opinion by reason and examples, ancient and modern, that it is vain to combat with him."² That is the true word about Sarpi. The outward forms were so indifferent to him that he would never have abandoned those into which he was born. But that did not prevent him from lending his aid to the party who wished to establish a reformed Church in Venice. It is impossible to deny that he did so after reading von Dohna's³ most explicit reports. Sarpi

¹ *Arte di ben pensare.*

² Ritter, *ut sup.* 131: "Sarpi è fisso in una pericolosissima massima che Iddio non curi l'esterno, pur che l'animo e 'l cuore habbia quella pura e diritta intenzione e relazione a lui. . . . Et in quella è in maniera fortificato per ragioni e per esempli antichi e moderni che poco s'avanza combatterglielo."

³ Ritter, *ut sup.* 75-89. He counselled caution, moderation, in the propaganda, "operar destramente"; to leave reformation to persuasion, conviction, "a reformation della chiesa oggidì non si può far meglio che imitando Christo." He is not encouraging to von

would gladly have seen perfect freedom for all forms of worship, provided that the worshippers remained good citizens. No wonder that, with these principles at heart, he dreaded every success of the Jesuits; no wonder that the Jesuits hated and pursued him alive and dead. And, indeed, his incessant slashing at the Society becomes a little wearisome and seems, perhaps, exaggerated to us who know the course events have taken, though Sarpi had it firmly in his mind that his duty to Church and State called on him to thwart the Society and defeat its policy.

Whether Sarpi can be considered a good Churchman or not depends upon the view we take of what the Church is and what its functions, the answer we give as to the headship of the Church. Certainly he was no Churchman at all in the sense intended by the Curia and the Jesuits, certainly not one of those *qui filii sunt legitimi*. And yet Bossuet's assertion that under the frock of a friar he hid the heart of a Calvinist is quite untenable. And the opinion here expressed is confirmed by a letter to Cardinal Borghese from the Nuncio Bentivoglio, no friend to Fra Paolo, in which he says that, "though Sarpi displays a great alienation from the court of Rome, and holds views diametrically opposed to the authority of the Holy See, yet he shows no inclination to embrace the new heresy."¹ And there we must leave it; he had his own ideal of a Church, and expressed it in the passages just quoted. I think that, if he had given himself any name at all, he would have called himself an Old Catholic.

As to the weapon at Sarpi's disposal, his inimitable and individual style, something must be said before we come to the actual struggle with the Curia. We

Dohna in his report of the number of genuine Protestants; out of 1,500 nobles only 30 are "della religione"; among the 160,000 citizens 4,000 to 10,000, and among these a great many foreigners. "Molti atheisti qui." "Ma ora bisogna camminare per altre vie di pace c'è un gran ateismo."

¹ Balan, *Fra Paolo Sarpi*, 39.

have seen that the bent of Sarpi's mind was pre-eminently scientific, and scientific is the chief quality of his style. It is a masculine, athletic style; a style of bronze, polished and spare. Only one decorative variation breaks the rigid outline of its simplicity—Sarpi possessed a dry, ironical humour with which he made great play. This very simplicity was reckoned against him by the Jesuits, and Zaccaria wrote of him, "Altri affettano una superba semplicità di stile, come Fra Paolo." A haughty simplicity he did indeed possess. His manner was precise, parsimonious, hard, positive, pungent. Never was there a more complete lack of adornment, a more thorough contempt for rhetoric, in a writer of so powerful a pen. And yet the whole is vivified by a living logic, and the reader is caught, and held delighted, by the compulsion of a method which is never explained but always felt.¹ That is why Sarpi may be called the historian's historian; that is why Gibbon, Macaulay, Hallam, Johnson, agree in placing him in the foremost rank. Sarpi is chiefly concerned in saying his say so directly and simply, that the comments, the deductions, the lessons become obvious, are implicit in the very narration. Let me take an example. Fra Manfredi (one of his colleagues in the struggle with the Curia) was enticed to Rome upon a safe-conduct, which guaranteed the inviolability of his person and his honour. This notwithstanding, he was tried, forced to an ignominious public recantation, hanged, and burned. How does Sarpi narrate this event? "I know not what judgment to make," he writes; "the beginning and the end are clear—a *safe-conduct and a pyre*."² This is what Sarpi meant by *l'arte del*

¹ Edward Brown, in the Preface to his translation of Sarpi's *Letters* (London, Richard Chiswell: 1693), speaks of "that convincing strength of reason, that curious way of arguing, and all the other virtues and ornaments which have so mightily endeared this wise and good Venetian to all considering and impartial minds."

² *Lett.* ii. 102: "Io non so che giudizio fare; benchè il principio e il fine siano manifesti, cioè un salvo condotto e un incendio."

colpire, the art of striking. The effect is obtained by simplest juxtaposition of the facts, and no rhetoric could have more eloquently expressed the writer's intention.

Such was the man who was called upon to defend what may be considered a test case in the interests of temporal sovereigns against the persistent claims of the papacy. The question at issue has never really been absent from the field of European ecclesiastical politics. It is a vital question to this day.

Doubtless Fra Paolo Sarpi is best known to general fame as an author, as the historian of the Council of Trent—not, I imagine, because that work is often read, but because its writer has received such high commendation from competent judges (Gibbon, Johnson, Hallam) that his name has become a name which people ought to know. But it certainly is not his fame as an historian which won for the obscure Servite friar the devotion of his contemporaries, of Wotton, of Bedell, of Sanderson among Englishmen, of Philip du Plessis-Mornay, Leschassier, Casaubon, Galileo, in France and Italy; and has made his name a living watchword to the present day.

Sarpi has suffered, I think, from being considered as an isolated phenomenon, as a figure which appears upon the stage of history, acts vigorously, even picturesquely, and disappears again, without any obvious connections in the past, with no very definite effect upon the future. His biographers tell us who he was and what he did, but they say little to explain his attitude, they make no effort to place him in his true historical perspective. The consequence is that his figure loses some of its significance for us; we are at a loss to understand the weight of his name, the importance of his career.

As a matter of fact Sarpi represents one very definite line in ecclesiastico-political history, in that struggle for national independence out of which modern Europe has been evolved. An analysis of

his intellectual parentage, a statement of his political descent, will help us to realize his place in the procession of thought; and the course of this inquiry will explain the devotion of some contemporaries, the animosity of others, the reverence and the hatred with which posterity has surrounded his name.

To understand Sarpi's politico-ecclesiastical position we must go back for a moment to the origin and development of the temporal power in the Church. During the early centuries of the Christian era, the idea of imperial Rome as the unit of society had been growing weaker, while silently, and almost unknown to the temporal rulers of the world, the idea of Christian brotherhood was gaining in strength. The removal of the capital from Rome to Constantinople, the conversion of the imperial family to Christianity, the failure of the emperors and the success of the popes in withstanding the barbarian attacks, the separation of the Church from the empire, brought about by the iconoclasm of Leo the Isaurian—all these events contributed to establish in men's minds the idea of the Church as an earthly power at least concurrent with the empire. Then came the union of the pope and the Franks; the coronation of Pepin as king; the protection he afforded to Pope Stephen; the donation of lands won from the Lombards; the crowning of Charles the Great as emperor in Rome; and there we have mediæval Europe established with its twofold basis of society, the pope and the emperor—a scheme which satisfied the aspirations of mankind by preserving, in an outward and visible form, the ancient grandeur of the Roman name, while including the new factor of Christian brotherhood.

But this beautiful and orderly disposition of the world—a Catholic Church to guide the soul, a universal empire to protect the body—was an idea only, an unrealizable dream, practically ineffectual. In the intellectual sphere this double headship of society brought confusion to the mind, and introduced a

double allegiance. In actual politics the existence of two coequal sovereigns—both human—at once raised questions as to the exact boundaries of their power, their jurisdictions inevitably overlapped. In a rude society, and with widely scattered territories, the appointment of bishops was an important consideration for the emperor no less than for the pope. The bishops were political factors in the government of mankind, as well as spiritual shepherds of human souls; who was to exercise the right of appointment, the emperor or the pope?

But the clash of pope and emperor over such a point as this laid bare the inherent defects in the mediæval conception of society. The emperor was absent, he did not reign in Rome; the pope possessed no temporal weapons. The emperor, at war with his spiritual brother the pope, ordered his vassals in Italy to attack the ecclesiastical head of society; and the pope, at war with his material protector the emperor, was forced to provide material protection for himself by the creation of a personal territory, the states of the Church. The beautiful and orderly ideal is shattered; the material chief has attacked the spiritual, the spiritual chief has made himself a material prince. He is no longer pope only, he is something more, he is an Italian sovereign as well. Two great popes, Hildebrand, Gregory VII., and Lothario Conti, Innocent III., achieved and carried to its utmost conclusion this change in the idea of the papacy. Gregory stated his object and formulated his claims in no uncertain tones. The Church, he said, ought to be absolutely independent of the temporal power; that it might be so in fact, it claimed supremacy over the State. The pope had authority to depose emperors; princes must do him homage; he was competent to release from their allegiance the subjects of a rebellious sovereign. As we read the words we seem to hear the voices of Bellarmine, Baronius, Mariana or Suarez, and to catch an echo of the Bull *In Cæna Domini*.

Innocent carried on the Hildebrandine tradition and realized it in fact. He changed the title "Vicar of Peter" for "Vicar of Christ," and paved the way for that more ambitious style of "Vice-Dio" which was applied to Pope Paul V. He created the states of the Church; and dreamed of a spiritual empire over Europe, a temporal sovereignty over Italy.

But the consequences of this papal expansion did not correspond to the hopes of these great prelates. The abasement of the empire led, not to the transference of European temporal allegiance from the empire to the papacy, but to the discovery of strong national tendencies among the various races of the Continent. And, further, inside the Church itself, from this time forward two distinct lines of thought are visible, two opposite tendencies in the spiritual and political region: the one line, continuing the tradition of Hildebrand and Innocent through Thomas Aquinas and the brilliant series of anticonciliar and secularizing Pontiffs, through Bellarmine, the Jesuits, the Inquisition, and the Council of Trent; the other, voiceless as yet, but soon to be proclaimed by a phalanx of illustrious writers, Dante, John of Paris, William of Ockam, Marsilio, Barclay, Sarpi. And this double opposition to the Hildebrandine theories, the national opposition outside the Church, the intellectual opposition inside the Church, frequently joined hands and worked together towards the development of modern Europe as a congeries of independent states.

Here, then, I think, we find Sarpi's intellectual pedigree. Thomas Aquinas asserted the supremacy of the Church over the State, and his spiritual offspring are living to this day, in all who hold ultramontane views.

Dante maintained the rights of the empire as against the papacy, but his client was moribund, and his *De Monarchia* died *sine prole*.

Egidio Colonna and John of Paris enunciated the doctrine that the Church and the State are absolutely

distinct one from another, both divinely constituted, both with independent spheres of action; and from these men, by a direct descent through Ockam and Marsilio of Padua, comes Paolo Sarpi.

Let us look for a moment at Marsilio of Padua, the greatest Italian political thinker of the fourteenth century—perhaps of any century.

Dante had declared that *qua* men, pope and emperor were equal, but *qua* emperor and pope they were incompatible, irreducible to a common denominator in the world of politics. Of course he is seeking, as the schoolmen always sought, the universal which includes the particular. He argues accordingly that the resolution of these incompatible factors of the body politic must be sought outside the world, in God. Marsilio of Padua says: Yes, Dante is right. Only I must not introduce into the world of politics a factor which is not there. I must seek the resolution of these incompatibles inside the political sphere. He then announces his doctrine, surprisingly bold, astonishingly modern when we remember that the year is 1324. For him the resolution of the pope and emperor, the universal which contains the particular in the world of politics, is the People. The People is the true divine on earth because it is the highest universal, because God made the first revelation of Himself not to the rulers but to the People; because out of the bosom of the People come the various appellations of the body politic—citizens, faithful, lay, cleric. For Marsilio the People presents a double aspect: it is the *universitas civium*, but it is also the *universitas credentium*. From the People, in one or other of these aspects, emerge all the phenomena of the politico-ecclesiastical world.

Marsilio called his book *Defensor Pacis*, Defender of the Peace, but he might with greater truth, as regards its results, have named it *Gladius Furens*, the Flaming Brand—for the ecclesiastical party which represented the Hildebrandine tradition never for a

moment subscribed to his bold speculations, and such theories must have sounded but little less distasteful to the ears of the Imperialists. And yet Marsilio's doctrines sowed seeds which have lived—are indeed more living now than ever before—and I have dwelt upon them because I think that, in some ways, Sarpi was nearer in politico-ecclesiastical thought to Marsilio than to any other of his predecessors.

When I say that Sarpi was intellectually descended from Marsilio of Padua, I do not mean that their views were identical. There was a wide difference between them, the result partly of their age, partly of their temperament: Marsilio, eminently scholastic, constructive, boldly speculative; Sarpi, on the other hand, coldly scientific, not discursive, occupied in answering definite problems as they are presented to him, not dealing with Utopias. But in spite of all differences, both Marsilio and Sarpi belong to the same order of political thought—to that party which was called into existence by the excessive expansion of papal claims, the party whose task it was to defend the just liberties of the individual and the State.

In order to appreciate the services which Sarpi rendered to his cause, we must first obtain some view of the position which papal pretensions had assumed at the date of his birth.

The temporal claims of the mediæval papacy, conceived by Hildebrand and carried to their extreme conclusion under Innocent III., induced the Hohenstaufen emperors to an attack, in which their greatest representative—Frederick II.—was worsted, it is true, but the papacy itself suffered in the conflict, both in moral prestige and temporal power. To support itself against the later Hohenstaufens it called the Angevine princes to its aid. A crippled papacy was no match for the growing national tendencies championed by France. The struggle between Boniface VIII. and Philip IV. ended in the capture and maltreatment of the pope. The victorious Philip was able to place

a creature of his own upon the papal throne, and to remove that throne and its occupant for safety to Avignon.

But if the mediæval conception of the papacy had proved a failure, the same fate had likewise befallen the mediæval empire. They had destroyed each other in the struggle for supremacy. The capture of Boniface at Anagni and the tragic end of Manfred are parallel events, each of them closing an epoch in the history of the Church and of the empire.

There was no comparison possible, however, between the vitality of the empire and the vitality of the papacy. The waning power of the empire allowed the growing national instincts to make their way in the formation of modern Europe. The waning prestige of the pope left no one to take his place. However weak he might temporally be, he was still the spiritual head of Christendom. It is true that a national Church, like the Gallican Church, gained in authority by the abasement of the papacy; but no one had been audacious enough to carry the idea of a national Church to its logical conclusion by declaring the head of the State to be head of the Church. The spiritual headship of the papacy remained, however impaired its temporalities might be; and those temporal claims, though abased for the present, lay dormant only until the papacy was strong enough to assert them once more, not against the emperor, it is true, but against the growing nationalities which took the emperor's place in the field of European politics.

The papacy had struggled with the empire, and strangled its opponent. Its next conflict was with the nation, as represented by the conciliar principle—the principle that the Universal Church (*Universitas credentium*) when represented by a General Council is superior to the popes.

The results of the struggle are notorious: the apparent triumph of the conciliar principle at Con-

stance by the election of Martin V.; its real failure, owing to Martin's unexpected independence of action, the moment he became pope; the patent incapacity of the Council of Basel to command Eugenius IV., and its fiasco with its own nominee Felix V. As far as the power of the papacy was concerned, it seemed that the conciliar movement had achieved nothing except to make the popes strong again by sending them back to Rome. The papacy rejoiced in the return to its native seat.

Three able popes—Eugenius, Nicholas, and Pius II.—successfully defied the conciliar movement, and gave a new and purely Italian character to the Holy See. The crown was set upon this revival by the famous Bull which, beginning with the word *Execrabilis*, declared all those damned who should venture to appeal from a pope to a future council. And the popes had achieved their new position by the help of the national instinct—that very instinct which had called up the conciliar movement against them. It was the support of Italy which enabled Eugenius to defy Basel. It was the patronage of Italian art and learning, and the restoration of Italian towns, which made Nicholas popular. In Æneas Sylvius, a humanist pope sat on the chair of St. Peter.

The restored papacy, thus established once more in Rome, its independence asserted by Eugenius, its splendour by Nicholas, its superiority to councils based upon *Execrabilis*, began to assume the aspect under which Paolo Sarpi came to know it. Three powerful temporalizing popes confirmed the worldly tendencies of the Petrine See as an Italian sovereignty. The system of family aggrandizement, begun under Sixtus IV., and continued through Alexander VI. and Julius II., laid those pontiffs open to the charge of cynicism. Men were shocked to see spiritual weapons employed for the secular ends of a papal family. And by the beginning of the sixteenth century we find a revival of that line of opposition to the *Curia Romana*

which made itself first heard as the result of the Hildebrandine theories. The spirit is the same, the tone is different, no longer scholastic, speculative, theoretical, but rather spiritual, religious, with something in it of the coming Reformation. "Whoever," writes Francesco Vettori from Florence in 1527—"whoever carefully considers the law of the Gospel, will perceive that the pontiffs, although they bear the name of Christ's vicar, yet have brought in a new religion, which has nothing Christian in it but the name; for whereas Christ enjoins poverty they desire riches, where He commands humility they flaunt their pride, where He requires obedience they seek universal domination." This is language very similar to that which is often found in the mouth of Sarpi—a little more rhetorical, less coldly impersonal than Sarpi's style, but, in that essential phrase, "una nuova religione," a new religion, containing the whole of what the opposition felt, the break in divine order, the confounding of earth and heaven. Their protest and their spirit are preserved to this day in the term Old Catholics.

The course of events in Europe, no less than in Italy, tended to accentuate the quality of the new papacy. The rise and spread of the Reformation beyond the Alps led the Roman Curia to furbish its spiritual weapons of excommunication and of interdict. However lightly we may think of such things now, there was a time when papal thunders were no mere *brutum fulmen*. The Venetians had learned that lesson to their cost when, in 1309, the Republic was placed under interdict and excommunication, with the result that her merchants in England, in Italy, in Asia Minor were threatened in their lives, despoiled of their goods, and Venetian commerce was ruined for a time. She had felt the effect later on, when the attack by the League of Cambray opened with an interdict and excommunication from Rome. It is thanks to the action of Venice and to the guidance of Fra Paolo

Sarpi that these weapons lost their point, that they have ceased to be used, that Europe can contemplate them now with no greater alarm than we should feel at the threat of a Star Chamber prosecution.

But further, the revolt against authority which was taking place beyond the Alps served only to emphasize the papal claims in Rome. A noble and genuine effort at reconciliation was made by the yielding Bucer, the gentle Melanchthon, and the winning Cardinal Contarini in the conference of Ratisbon. But behind these dreamers of peace was Luther, on the one hand, declaring that whatever formulas might be agreed upon at Ratisbon, nothing would induce him to believe that the Catholics could be sound upon justification, and Paul III., vowing that he would accept no concordat whose terms should leave the papal authority open to a moment's doubt.

The conference of Ratisbon was a failure, and merely resulted in more positive assertions of the papal position and more active and even violent measures for the maintenance thereof. And two instruments were ready to hand. The Bull *Licet ab initio*, which founded the new *Inquisition on Heretical Depravity*, was published in 1542. The Society of Jesus was definitely established in 1543, nine years before the birth of Paolo Sarpi. Nor was it long ere the world perceived that the Inquisition and the Society of Jesus were bent on attacking freedom of thought, liberty of action, national independence, in the interests of papal supremacy. And the papacy, or at least the *Curia Romana*, came to be identified in many minds—among them Sarpi's—with the action of the Inquisition and the teaching of the Jesuits.

In the face of this aggressive attitude of the papacy temporal princes began to look to the defence of their rights. Cardinal Baronius challenged the validity of the Spanish claim to Sicily, and even such a Catholic sovereign as Philip III. caused the book to be publicly burned. His father declined to accept the Roman

Index, and declared that he was competent to make his own. The Catholic rulers of Europe were hostile to the papal claims. But it was reserved for Venice and Sarpi to champion the just rights of secular princes, to defend single-handed a cause which was common to all sovereigns. This constitutes Sarpi's claim to recognition by posterity. His action in this great cause, his coolness, his courage, give us the reason why he has had to wait two hundred and seventy years for the erection of the monument decreed to him by the Republic, why his name is venerated by all lovers of national liberty, execrated by those whose policy he helped to crush.

And now let us return to Paolo Sarpi himself, to the man who was called upon to face and largely modify the politico-ecclesiastical conditions of the civilized world. We must remember that it would hardly have been possible for Sarpi to embark on a struggle with the Roman Curia in any State save Venice. In any other Catholic country he would have been surrendered to the Inquisition; had he retired to a Protestant country his arguments would have lost much of their weight, his books would have been prohibited, he himself would have been represented as the servant of a Protestant prince. It is precisely because the defence of secular princes came from a Catholic living in a Catholic State that it made so deep an impression upon Europe.

Sarpi and the Republic were singularly at one in their external attitude towards Rome. The Republic had, from the earliest times, maintained a more independent position than was generally assumed by the other princes of Italy. Yet Venice always remained Catholic. When the pope alluded to reforming tendencies in the Republic, the Doge Donato, Sarpi's personal friend, broke out, "Who talks of Calvinists? We are as good Christians as the pope, and Christians we will die, in despite of those who wish it otherwise." It was this attitude

of Venice, a defence of temporal freedom while admitting a spiritual allegiance, which Sarpi was to proclaim and to defend.

The events which immediately led to the rupture between Venice and Rome had been ripening for many years before the protagonists, Sarpi and Pope Paul, appeared upon the scene; and relations were strained at the moment when Camillo Borghese was raised to the papal throne in 1605 as Paul V. Borghese, member of a Sienese family, born at Rome, had been auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, was a strong churchman, and believed himself a great jurist. He was so amazed at his own elevation to the papacy, that he considered it to be the special work of heaven, and determined to act accordingly. The pope "was scarce warm in his chair" before he plunged into controversies right and left. Genoa yielded; Lucca yielded; Spain was pliant. But when the Venetian ambassadors, sent to congratulate his Holiness, were admitted to audience, they referred in no doubtful terms to the attitude of the Republic on the questions pending between Venice and the Holy See. The pope answered by complaining of two laws, lately renewed by the Republic; both of them affecting Church property. In the course of a pacific reply to the pope, the Senate enunciated its fundamental principle: "We cannot understand how it is possible to pretend that an independent principality like the Republic should not be free to take such steps as she may consider necessary for the preservation of the State, when those measures do not interfere with or prejudice other princes." It seems a reasonable reply, but the difficulty lay in this, that neither party would condescend upon a definition of what was or what was not to the prejudice of another prince. That depended upon what the other prince claimed. And the pope was a prince. The need for such a definition led Sarpi to formulate precisely what he considered the boundary line between temporal and spiritual rights.

"The dominion of the Church," he says, "marches along celestial paths ; it cannot therefore clash with the dominion of princes, which marches on paths terrestrial." Could he have obtained subscription to a dichotomy of this nature, the quarrel would have been at an end. But the Roman Curia never dreamed of making such a renunciation of its substantial authority.

While the question was still pending, two criminous clerics were arrested in Venetian territory, and imprisoned. The pope considered this act a violation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He sent two briefs to the nuncio at Venice, one demanding the repeal of the obnoxious laws, the other the persons of the two prisoners, and threatening excommunication in case of disobedience. The briefs reached Venice ; but before the nuncio presented them, the doge died. The nuncio declared that no election to the dukedom was valid, as the State was under excommunication till it had satisfied the papal demand. This, of course, did not stay the Venetians, who proceeded to elect Leonardo Donato, Sarpi's friend, to the vacant chair. The election was no sooner over than the Senate desired the counsels of a doctor in canon law, and Sarpi was invited to express an opinion on the case. He gave it verbally. The cabinet asked for it in writing. Sarpi declined. The Senate saw the reasonableness of this refusal, and issued an order by which they took Sarpi into the service of the State and under its protection. In answer to the question, "What are the proper remedies against the lightnings of Rome?" the newly appointed theologian replied, "Forbid the publication of the censures, and appeal to a council." This position was supported in a document of fifteen pages, in which the whole question of appeal to a future council is argued with profound learning and perfect limpidity of thought. The brevity, strength, and clearness of this written opinion gave the highest satisfaction, and the reply to the pope was dictated by Sarpi. It was still pacific in tone ; the

Senate declares that "Princes by divine law have authority to legislate on matters temporal within their own jurisdiction. There was no occasion for the admonitions administered by his Holiness, for the matters in dispute were not spiritual but temporal." The pope was furious. He declared to the Venetian cardinals that "this discourse of yours stinks of heresy"—*spuzza d'eresia*—and dictated a monitorium, in which he allowed the Republic twenty-four days to revoke the objectionable laws and to consign the ecclesiastics to the nuncio; if obedience were refused, Venice would be placed under an interdict.

The monitorium was published in May, 1606. The Senate replied by two manifestoes, one appealing to the cities of the Veneto for support, the other commanding the clergy to ignore the monitory, to continue divine services, and to affix this protest in a public place. There was a disposition on the part of the clergy to disobey; but an example or two were sufficient to secure compliance. A vicar refused to say Mass; the government raised a gibbet before his door and he was given his choice. At Padua the capitular vicar, when ordered to surrender despatches received from Rome, replied that he would act in accordance with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, to which the governor replied that the Ten had already received that inspiration to hang all who disobeyed. The rupture with Venice was complete. The nuncio and the ambassador were recalled from their respective posts.

The question now was whether the Republic would yield as she had done before, as other more powerful States had often been compelled to do. Pope Paul never doubted the issue. But, at Venice, now inspired and guided by Paolo Sarpi, there was an unwonted spirit of resistance to the papal claims, which found expression in the doge's farewell to the nuncio. "Monsignore," said Donato, "you must know that we are, every one of us, resolute to the last degree, not

merely the government but the nobility and the population of our State. Your excommunication we hold for naught. Now just consider what this resolution would lead to, if our examples were followed by others"—a warning which the pope declined to take. Yet this spirit of resistance in defence of temporal rights was accompanied by a remarkable attention to ecclesiastical ceremonies. The churches stood open day and night, and were much frequented. The procession of the Corpus Domini was conducted on a scale of extraordinary magnificence. The Republic desired to make her attitude clear: it was the claims of the Curia, and not the Church, which she was opposing.

Meantime the controversy assumed a literary form; Venice was attacked in books, in pamphlets, in the confessional, from the pulpit. The attention of Europe was soon attracted to the surprising spectacle of a temporal sovereign successfully defending his temporal rights against the pope, while still endeavouring to remain inside the pale of the Church. France was friendly; England promised support; Spain alone was openly hostile. The mass of controversial literature grew rapidly, especially in Venice, where all adverse criticism was studied, not burned, as at Rome. The government appointed a committee to deal with this side of the contest, and Sarpi was its ruling spirit. An attack by Bellarmine drew Sarpi openly into the controversial arena; and instantly he became the mark for the arrows of the Curia. His works were prohibited and burned; he was cited before the Inquisition, and refused to obey on the double ground that he had already been judged illegally, because unheard in defence, and that Bellarmine, one of his adversaries, would also be upon the judicial bench. His phrase was, "I defend a just cause." The pope prepared for war; and Venice too armed herself. But the pontiff found that even his ally Spain was not willing to support him in a cause which was so hostile to the temporal

interests of princes, and likely to be opposed by all the powers in Europe.

The interdict had now lain upon Venice many months without effect, the ceremonies of the Church were performed as usual, the people were not deprived of the sacraments, they could be baptized, married, buried, as though no interdict had ever been launched. That terrible weapon of the ecclesiastical armoury hung fire. Each day discredited it still further. Venice was demonstrating the truth of Machiavelli's observation that these instruments were powerless unless backed by force; like bank-notes with no metal reserve, current as long as the credit of the institution lasted, as long as people took them on faith.

At Rome it was becoming evident that the pope would be compelled to retire. The only question was how to yield with as little loss as possible. Both Spain and France were ready to mediate. France proposed terms of an agreement. But the Venetian government, after taking Sarpi's opinion, modified these terms beyond all recognition. The pope might be entreated, but not in the name of Venice; the prisoners would be given to the king, not to the pope; nothing would be said about withdrawing the protest; and as for the controversial writings in favour of Venice, the Republic would do with them whatever the pope did with those in favour of the Curia. The position of Venice was that she had done no wrong: her cause was just. From this firm attitude the government would not move. The pope raised objections, hoped for help from Spain, implored the intervention of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, changed his mind a hundred times. But the scandal of the powerless interdict grew daily more serious; the cardinals protested against the injury to the prestige of Rome; and the pope was forced to yield.

France undertook to mediate, and for that purpose the Cardinal de Joyeuse came to Venice. The various steps in the ceremony of reconciliation were carried

out with the utmost punctiliousness on the part of the Republic. The terms of the proclamation withdrawing the protest were framed so as to allow no word to escape which might imply that Venice acknowledged an error.

The surrender of the prisoners was made to the ambassador of France as a gratification to his Most Christian Majesty, and without abrogating the right to try ecclesiastics. The ambassador handed over the prisoners to the cardinal as a present from the King. The cardinal then proceeded to the cabinet, which was sitting, and announced in the pope's name that "all the censures were removed." Whereupon the doge presented to him the proclamation which recalled the protest. And so the celebrated episode of the interdict came to an end.

The victory remained with Venice, and Sarpi was the hero of it. It was a great achievement to have resisted the temporal assertions of the Curia without breaking from the Church. And Sarpi himself makes it quite clear that he was aware of the effect of his handiwork. He writes: "The Republic has given a shake to papal claims. For whoever heard till now of a papal interdict, published with all solemnity, ending in smoke? And whereas the pope once raised a wasps' nest about our ears for wishing to try two criminous clerics, from that day to this a good hundred have been brought to justice. Our differences with the Curia continue just as before, but they have never ventured to use an interdict again: its power is exhausted." An appreciation confirmed by so cautious an historian as Hallam, who says: "Nothing is more worthy of remark, especially in literary history, than the appearance of one great man, Fra Paolo Sarpi, the first who, in modern times and in a Catholic country, shook the fabric of papal despotism."

It was not likely that the Roman Curia would ever forgive such a blow. Sarpi was quite right in saying that it left the Republic alone for the future, but it

pursued the men who had been the Republic's advisers. It was the object of the Curia to induce Sarpi and his colleagues to come to Rome; it could then have represented them as erring children returning to the bosom of the Church, wrung recantations from them, and undone most of the benefits secured by their courage. Sarpi refused to leave Venice, and pleaded an order from his sovereign which forbade him to go. Others, less cautious, yielded to the promises of protection and of honours, and failed to detect what Sarpi called "the poison in the honey." Their fate was pitiable. Sarpi alone his enemies could not get, though he wrote to a friend, "They are determined to have us all, and me by the dagger." And he was right. He had received several warnings that his life was in danger. Gaspar Schoppe, on his way from Rome, told him that it was almost impossible for him to escape the vengeance of the pope. The government also begged him to take precautions. Sarpi refused to change any of his habits. He continued his daily attendance at the ducal palace, passing on foot from his monastery at Santa Fosca through the crowded Merceria to St. Mark's, and back again when his work was done.

On October 5, 1607, he was returning home about five o'clock in the evening. With him was an old gentleman, Alessandro Malipiero, and a lay brother, Fra Marino; the people of the Santa Fosca quarter were mostly at the theatre, and the streets were deserted. As Sarpi was descending the steps of the bridge at Santa Fosca, he was set upon by five assassins. Fra Marino was seized and bound, while the chief assailant dealt repeated blows at Fra Paolo; only three took effect, two in the neck, of small consequence, and one in the head which was given with such violence that the dagger, entering the right ear, pierced through to the cheek-bone and remained fixed there. Sarpi fell as though dead, and the assassins, believing their work accomplished, and being dis-

turbed by the cries of Malipiero and some women who had witnessed the assault from a window, fired their harquebuses to terrify the people, who were running up, and made off. Sarpi was carried into his monastery, where he lay for long in danger of his life. The Republic insisted upon calling in all the celebrated doctors and surgeons of Venice and Padua—though Sarpi himself desired to be left to the care of Aloise Ragozza, a very young man in whom he had confidence. The multitude of doctors nearly killed their patient. But at length the wound healed, and Sarpi resumed his ordinary course of life.

He had never any doubt as to the quarter whence the blow came; when shown the dagger¹ which had wounded him he drily remarked, "Agnosco stylum Curiae Romanæ"; and the flight of the assassins to papal territory, their triumphal procession to Rome, the protection they received there, all point to one conclusion.

The Republic was lavish of its attentions to its famous councillor. Sarpi was offered a lodging for himself and two others on the Piazza, and the Senate voted him a pension of four hundred ducats. He declined the money and refused to leave his monastery. All that he would accept was the construction of a covered way, and a private door, so that he might reach his gondola without passing through the streets. These precautions were by no means unnecessary, for his life was never safe. At least twice again plots were laid against him. The one which was discovered in the monastery was a real pain to him. He writes: "I have just escaped a great conspiracy against my life; those of my own chamber had a part in it. It has not pleased God that it should succeed, but I am deeply sorry that the agents are in prison. *Life is no*

¹ Sarpi hung the dagger as an *ex voto* in the church of his monastery. When that was desecrated by Napoleon, the dagger was removed, and eventually passed into the possession of the Giustinian Recanati, who now own it.

longer grateful to me when I think of the difficulty I have to preserve it."

That is the first note of weariness which we come across in Sarpi's letters ; it is a note which is repeated and deepened during the later years of his life. Those years were passed in constant and active discharge of his duties to the State, in the preparation of opinions upon the various points about which the government consulted him—on benefices ; on Church property ; on the Inquisition ; on the prohibition of books ; on tithes. The epithets applied by distinguished authorities bear witness to their value. Gibbon talks of "golden volumes," Grotius calls them "great."

The fame of the great Servite grew world-wide. But at Venice his years were closing in some loneliness and depression. To his eyes it seemed that his policy had not achieved all the success he desired. The murder of Henry IV. in 1610 was a cruel blow ; and he saw France falling once more under the Jesuit sway. Venice too appeared to be lost in a lethargy which offered no resistance. Again and again in his correspondence he complains of Venetian supineness, and declares that the Republic is no freer after, than it was before, the fight. Moreover, his intimate friends and supporters were dying : Alessandro Malipiero in 1609, Leonardo Donato, the doge, in 1612, Andrea Morosini, the historian, in 1618. The younger generation held different views ; were disposed to leave matters alone. Sarpi felt the gradual abandonment. It is said he even thought of going to England or again to the East. The extent of that abandonment was shown immediately after his death. The Senate decreed a monument in his honour. The nuncio declared that the pope could not submit to such an affront, and if it was erected, the Holy Office would be obliged to proclaim Sarpi an impenitent heretic. The Venetian ambassador counselled compliance, comforting himself with the reflection that "he who may not live in stone will live in our annals with less risk from all-corroding time."

But the end of this active life was drawing near. Sarpi had never feared death. When his friend the doge expired, he wrote¹ that nothing more desirable could happen to an honest man than to say adieu to the earth after a lifetime spent in preparation for departure by integrity of thought and the discharge of duty. That indeed was Sarpi's own case. He died in harness.

On Easter Eve, 1622, while working in the archives, he was seized with a violent shivering fit. It was the beginning of the end, though he rallied and resisted for another year. Early in 1623 he obeyed a summons to the palace. He was very ill at the time, and on his return he knew himself stricken for death. On January 14 he took to his bed. Fra Fulgenzio was summoned to the Senate to give a report. "How is he?" they said. "At the last," replied Fulgenzio. "And his intellect?" "Quite clear." The government then proposed three questions on which they desired the dying man's advice. Sarpi dictated his replies, which were read and acted upon.

He grew rapidly worse; still he was able to say with a smile, "Praise be to God: what is His pleasure pleases me, and with His help we will through with this last act becomingly." Then falling into a delirium, they heard him murmur, "I must go to St. Mark's. It is late. There is much to do." About one in the morning he turned to his friend Fra Fulgenzio, embraced him, and said, "Do not stay here to see me in this state: it is not fitting. Go you to bed, and I will return to God whence I came." "Esto perpetua!"—"May she endure!"—were the last words on his lips, a prayer which his audience took as on behalf of his country, for whose just rights and liberties he had fought so well.

¹ *Lett.* ii. 334: "Nulla è più desiderabile ad un onesto uomo, che dire addio alla terra doppo un apparecchio di tutta la vita nell' interezza dei sentimenti e nell' adempimento stesso dei propri officj."

The Spanish Conspiracy: An Episode in the Decline of Venice

THE Spanish conspiracy, by the timely discovery of which Venice was believed to have narrowly escaped destruction in 1618, is one of those episodes in history which at once arrest attention by focussing the conditions of a period and throwing a flood of light upon subsequent events. In diabolical picturesqueness this conspiracy takes rank with the Gunpowder Plot or the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Owing partly to doubts thrown upon its reality at the very outset, partly also to the silence of the Venetian government, to the mystification of some contemporaries and the declared scepticism of others, the whole affair has acquired the fascination of a riddle. The subject has attracted abundant research, and has even found its way into dramatic literature in the best of Otway's plays, *Venice Preserved*. At the time there was a French answer, a Spanish answer, a Neapolitan answer, a Turkish answer to this riddle, and subsequent historians, Capriata, San Real, Chambrier, each adopted one or other of these solutions. No one of these answers is, however, quite satisfactory, nor covers the whole ground of our information. It may be impossible now to read to the bottom of this muddy pool; and von Ranke, the most distinguished of those who have attacked the problem, has confined himself to researches in the fact without expressing a decided opinion in any direction. He has been followed by Romanin, who has gone still further into the documentary evidence, though neither has

completely exhausted the material at our disposal. Indeed it would be difficult to find a more tangled skein for the historian to unravel; yet the process reveals so curious a condition of society in Europe, and in Venice especially, at the opening of the seventeenth century, and throws so strong a light upon the causes which first corrupted and then destroyed the Republic, that the effort to follow each clue through the labyrinth is repaid with interest.

And first for the outward and visible facts of the case as they appeared to the Venetians in the spring of 1618. Early in this year the city was full of strangers—Italians from the mainland and foreigners wandering in search of adventure, whose nature it was to be drawn at last towards the city of the sea, to “fall like spent exhalations to that centre.” They were attracted thither by the splendour of Venetian state ceremonies, which were gradually growing more and more sumptuous, were surely being made the pretext for a larger licence. On this occasion Venice was preparing to celebrate the election of a new doge,¹ and the yearly pageant of wedding the sea happened to fall about the same time. The *locande*, therefore, were all full; so too were the lodging-houses which served as dependencies to the overcrowded inns. The piazza at night was thronged with foreign forms in long cloaks, slouched hats, and high leather boots, promenading and swaggering, now in shadow, now in moonlight, and filling the air with the adventurer’s language, French in all its endless modifications of *patois*. The air seemed charged with vague uneasiness, and Venice had reached a highly nervous condition between her amusements and her fears. For some time past the conduct of the Spanish governors in Naples and Milan had been the cause

¹ The Doge Giovanni Bembo died on March 12, 1618; he was succeeded on April 5 by Nicolò Donato, who reigned less than a month, and on May 17 Antonio Priuli was called to fill his place.

of serious alarm to those politicians who were not entirely dazzled by the blaze of pageantry and lost in the hunt after pleasure; but there was a wild swirl of reckless enjoyment all about them, and a warning voice, had they raised one, would have been drowned in the din of the revel.

On the morning of May 18, the day after the election of the doge, Venice awoke to another day of enjoyment — to her midday siesta, the evening *al fresco* upon the lagoon, the “masques and balls begun at midnight, burning ever to midday.” But a thrill of terror awaited her. This morning of the 18th the early risers found the bodies of two men, hung each by one leg to a gibbet in the piazza, in sign that they had been executed for treason. On the 23rd, two days before the Sposalizio del Mare, another body, bearing the marks of terrible torture, was also exposed in a like manner. The public emotion became intense. The people felt themselves suddenly pulled up by this evidence of death, secret, swift, and apparently causeless, in their very midst, hung full in face of their heedless enjoyment. The silence of the government heightened the alarm. The executive made no motion to postpone the ceremonies of the next few days; the three bodies hung there, unexplained, but relieved in horrible colours upon the brilliant background of civic pomp. No one knew these men who had been put to death. They belonged to the mob of vagabonds and adventurers whom Venice attracted, and upon whom she, in a measure, lived. One thing alone was clear; they were all Frenchmen. Conjecture was allowed free play; and the public soon pieced together, out of the endless rumours of the town, a consecutive story. These men were the agents of the Duke of Osuna, Viceroy of Naples, and of the Marquis Bedmar, Spanish ambassador in Venice. In accordance with a preconcerted design, the city was to have been seized by a Spanish fleet, which already lay outside Malamocco, the

arsenal fired, the mint and the treasury of St. Mark's rifled, the doge and his council blown up. When Venice had been sufficiently cowed, she was to be handed over to Spain. The plot had been discovered in time, the guilty arrested and tortured; more than five hundred of their accomplices had been drowned by night in the canals. In proof of this, the inns, full to the garret a few days before, were now nearly empty. Such was the story which gained immediate acceptance. The reticence of the government neither affirmed nor denied anything, and the popular fury exploded in an attack upon the Spanish embassy. Bedmar's palace and even his life were in serious danger.

At the moment when the conspiracy was discovered the French ambassador, Leon Bruslart, was absent from Venice on a pilgrimage to Loretto. He received information of events from his brother Broussin, who was in charge of affairs, and therefore sent a similar communication on the subject to the Minister of the Exterior in Paris. Even thus early, four days after the first executions, Broussin expresses his disbelief in the reasons popularly given for the sentence. He was sceptical as to the alleged Spanish origin of the plot, because he and all the French officials knew that there existed a French plot to which the condemned were parties, and whose centre was in their own court; a plot directed not against the Republic, it is true, but against a power the Republic dreaded and desired to conciliate—against the Turks. Moreover, this French design was aimed at the Levant, where Venice had always shown herself jealous of any interference. To the French embassy, therefore, it seemed clear that here lay the real reason for these sudden executions. Bruslart returned to Venice three weeks later; and since those who had suffered death were Frenchmen, a long correspondence ensued between the ambassador and the minister in Paris. In all his despatches Bruslart denies that the Spaniards were the authors of the plot. Daru, the French

historian of Venice, accepts Bruslart's negation and carries it a step further. He boldly asserts that the Spanish Conspiracy never had any existence at all.

Daru's theory is so startling, and in supporting it he deals so elaborately with the condition of the plot, that it will be of service to follow him closely for a little way. By rejecting the accredited story of the conspiracy, the French historian lays himself under the obligation to explain the action which Venice took in the matter. This he does with surprising dexterity. The Duke of Osuna, Spanish Viceroy of Naples, Daru affirms, was engaged in schemes to make himself King of Naples. He asked Venice to help him, and she consented. Osuna's treason was discovered at Madrid, and Venice exerted all her powers to obliterate every proof of her complicity with the viceroy. To do this effectually she hanged, drowned, or strangled five hundred men, emissaries of Osuna, whom she found in her dominions, and who were aware that she was herself a party to their designs, and who might be called as witness against her at the Spanish court. The tortures she inflicted were applied to wring from her own confederates the names of all who, by the slightest side-wind, might have obtained an inkling that the Republic was a principal in the conspiracy. To the world Venice said that Spain had been compassing her ruin, and her doge celebrated a public *Te Deum* for this salvation from danger; in reality she had been plotting against Madrid, and the thanksgiving was held because she had succeeded in destroying all her accomplices, and with them every trace of her guilt towards Spain. This is a bold conjecture, and picturesque in the lurid light in which it places the Venetian government. If Daru's theory were correct, no more sacrilegious ceremony than the *Te Deum* in St. Mark's was ever celebrated inside a Christian church. But it is not correct; and a wider view, embracing the general condition of Europe, and more especially the attitude

of France, Spain, and the viceroyalty of Naples, will prove its fallacy.

By the Peace of Lyons, France had virtually withdrawn from Italy in 1601. She had ceded Saluzzo, in Piedmont, to the Duke of Savoy, in exchange for the district of La Bresse on the French side of the Alps. The French no longer possessed a claim to any portion of Italian territory; Spain was left in undisturbed possession. The withdrawal of France caused serious alarm to those Italian states which still retained their independence. No power remained in Italy to prevent Spain from suppressing the last embers of freedom; and these fears received colour when the Spanish began to harass the Duke of Savoy and to support the Archduke Ferdinand in the war he was waging against Venice on the plea that she was responsible for the depredations of the Liburnian pirates the Uskoks. The Peace of Madrid, however, in 1617, promised to restore quiet to Italy, and that peace was especially the work of the Spanish court. Indeed, the centre of disturbance lay by no means in Spain itself. There the attitude was pacific. The court of Madrid was virtually asleep, sunk in a death-like inactivity. The king, Philip III., was consumed by a gloomy religious fervour, unrelieved by any vital interest beyond the preservation of a rigid and stifling etiquette. He was completely dominated by the Dukes of Lerma and Uzeda, who dreaded a war which might rouse his Majesty from this lethargy or should call into notice men of action who would prove rivals. In contrast to the paralysis of Madrid, the provinces were feverishly restless, owing to the active ambition of their governors. It was Inojosa, Fuentes, Toledo, Osuna, Bedmar, who threatened the remnants of Italian freedom. They, and not their court, were the source of that alarm which Italy felt. These men were powerful and fully aware of the weakness of their home government. They seldom received instructions from Madrid, and still seldomer obeyed

them. Virtually independent princes, it was in war, in conspiracy, and in movement that they came to the fullest consciousness of their power. To the Spanish representatives in Italy the peace of 1617 was distasteful, as any peace must have been, and they agreed to ignore it. Toledo and Osuna both continued to annoy Venice, in spite of repeated orders to disarm.

The Viceroy of Naples plays so important a part in the story of the Spanish Conspiracy, that we must look a little closer at the course of his life. Don Pedro y Giron, grandee of Spain, knight of the Golden Fleece, and gentleman of the bed-chamber, was the head of a powerful Spanish house, and had increased his influence by an alliance with the family of the Duke of Lerma, favourite and all-powerful minister of King Philip. By nature Don Pedro was ambitious and impetuous, and the restless air of his century raised his pulse still higher. At the age of twenty-five he conceived himself neglected by his court. He therefore formed a company of troops at his own charge, and took them to the Netherlands, where he served under the Archduke of Austria. On the close of the campaign he returned to Madrid with a fine reputation for valour, and was soon after appointed Viceroy of Sicily. In his kingdom he made himself unboundedly popular. His manners were distinguished by courtly Spanish grace, relieved by flashes of humour which appealed to the popular taste. He soon became a favourite with nobles and people alike. But he committed one fatal mistake—he allowed himself too great a freedom in matters of religion. Already he was suspected by the Church for his fearless defence of the heretics against the rigours of his own court. And now many stories of his levity were set afloat, and came to the ears of his enemies the Jesuits, who stored them up against the day of his disgrace. When Venice fell out with Ferdinand of Austria, Osuna was sent as viceroy to Naples, with orders to support the archduke. At Naples he

continued his popular policy, taking special care to conciliate the people. He even went so far as to execute certain barons for cruelty to their dependents. The populace of Naples adored him. They called him the "good viceroy"; but the nobility, whom he curbed, united with his old enemies the Jesuits to work his ruin, and the combination in the end proved too strong for Osuna. On the Peace of Madrid being signed, the viceroy refused to disarm, and continued to attack Venice in the Adriatic. With a frankness characteristic of himself, Osuna again and again told the Venetian resident that he had no intention of observing the treaty. "I am resolved," he said, "to send the fleet into Venetian waters, in spite of the world, in spite of the king, in spite of God." The fleet sailed under Osuna's own colours, and his enemies were not slow to comment on the viceroy's flag flying from the ships of Spain. His army steadily grew in numbers, and became the asylum for all the *bravi* and broken men who were wandering in swarms over Europe. The Jesuits and the nobility had little difficulty in surmising that Osuna's object was the crown of Naples. They gave him another year to commit himself, and then they struck. In October of 1618—that is, five months after the Spanish plot was discovered at Venice—a formal information against Osuna was lodged at the court of Madrid. Early in the following year the government determined to recall him; and then, for the first time, Osuna secretly sounded the Venetian resident as to whether the Republic would support him in case he determined to resist the authority of his own court. The Venetian answer was prompt and decisive. The Ten declined to treat upon the subject at all. Osuna saw that his case was hopeless, and quietly resigned his office to his successor, Cardinal Borgia. He returned to Madrid, where, contrary to all expectation, he met with a most favourable reception, and it is probable that the government did not consider his treason

proved. The Venetian ambassador wrote from Madrid that the Duke of Osuna lived in greater state than ever he did in Italy; adding, however, "we must not praise the day till night fall." A stormy night soon closed upon Osuna. The king died in 1621, and the ex-viceroy lost the protection of his relation the Duke of Uzeda, whose reign ended with his master's life. Osuna's enemy, the Church, revived the old charge of heresy, and he was put upon his trial. For more than three years the process lasted, spun out to an interminable length by the Jesuits, who had at length involved their prey. For these three years Osuna languished in prison; finally he died at the castle of Almeda, poisoned, it is said, by the hand of his wife, to save the family honour from the shame of a public execution.

The whole of Daru's argument in explanation of the Spanish Conspiracy rests upon the relations between the Viceroy of Naples and the Venetian Republic. It is more than probable that Osuna did meditate seizing the crown of Naples. The scheme may appear to us now little better than a mere bubble certain to burst. But it is just one of the notes of this period that a thousand such mad and vague designs were in the air. That Osuna asked Venice to aid him, and that the Republic lent a willing ear, is incorrect. The viceroy made no overtures to Venice until a year after the plot was discovered, and then they were at once rejected.

Thus far, then, the French historian has carried us, and we have obtained no explanation of the Spanish Conspiracy. Nor can we, without taking into consideration the force which was moving the whole continent at this time. The human spirit had for long been busy, fusing and amalgamating much diverse matter inside the crucible of Italy. Now the crucible was broken by foreign invasion, and its contents flowed out to work in the innermost core of European society. The North was vivified at last, and returned upon its vivifier. After long years it had

caught the element of life and became intellectualized in its constant and brutal violations of Italy. It left its mistress dead, but itself arose, quickened to a nobler life by her undying and invincible spirit. It was an age of liberation, of freedom beyond the borders of Italy, who died in the effort to project the ideas she created. She, "the lamp of other nations, the sepulchre of her own splendour," had taught the world how to tread firmly in the path where the spirit guides. But this liberation, this firm tread, brought with them, as of necessity they must, certain defects; and so we find side by side freedom and licence, the steady step and the headlong rush. The motto of the age was—"Attempt"; *Perge! ne timeas!* Luther obeyed the spirit in his own bold, rough fashion; rejoicing like a lad in his new-found strength; almost hoping that he might find as many devils in Augsburg as there were tiles on the roof; gladly accepting the devil as a bodily fact for the sake of a blow at him, for the pleasure of a well-aimed ink-pot. But in Italy they were long past this boyhood they once knew so well; they had now struggled so long that they were weary of movement and desirous of rest. For ages past the Italians had been active, creating the Roman Empire, the Roman Church, re-awaking the arts and rediscovering humanity. They might look at Luther as a man looks at a child, but they could not feel with him even in memory. Italy was old. She had not that directness which comes from partial understanding, nor the youth nor the brutality to free herself as entirely in outward form from Rome, as she was already freed in spirit. Campanella, Bruno, and Sarpi are intellectually as bold as Luther and of far further vision, far more prophetic. But just there lay the cause of their defect as agents. In their wide and almost universal view the points for which Luther was struggling seemed of such trifling moment. The raw muscle for an external blow they had not, though the intellectual courage to

deal one was theirs in abundance. See the hardihood, the audacity, the adventurous spirit of Sarpi. At each moment you expect him to falter, to stay his hand, hearing behind him the thunder of Rome, or dreading the gleam of her assassin's dagger. But no! step by step he advances; each proposition stated and established becomes to him, as it were, a spring-board whence to take a wider and a bolder flight; till from apologist he becomes accuser: Venice, his client, quits the dock for the judgment-seat; and the pope, no longer the terrible judge, is in his turn arraigned, tried, and condemned. Yet all the while Sarpi remains inside the Church, not outside it with Luther. Luther passed outside the Church through an intellectual defect, through a boyishness of understanding, because he did not go the whole length of his argument, because he was about to found a new Church. Sarpi remained inside the Church because he was intellectually complete, a full-grown man, following his argument to its close, because, in short, he was a man of no Church.

But these men are the fine phenomena of the spirit, the brilliant side of the mirror. We may be sure there was also a darker side. Nothing is more open to infection than the human mind; the quality of its flame depends on the air which feeds and surrounds it. When such world-moving forces as freedom are at work, no portion of the social organism can escape the shock or refuse to share in the impulse. But the nature of the manifestation depends upon the medium; and so, while we look with pride on a Luther or a Sarpi as brilliant examples of spiritual liberation, we are warned to read a lesson of humility in the motiveless anarchy of a Guy Fawkes or a Jacques Pierre. In men of coarser fibre, the boldness and self-reliance which constituted the strength of Luther became licence and unreasoned restlessness. What could be done by pushing audaciously onward, by adopting the motto "Attempt," was constantly receiving illustration in countless instances of successful

adventure. Concini, the Italian, was marshal of France and virtual sovereign ; handsome George Villiers was ruling England to the ruin of the crown. For all the men who were obeying the spirit of their age, whose minds were being ruffled to unrest, some such success seemed possible. They turned their eyes from the failures—from d'Ancre's dead body in the courtyard of the Louvre, from Ravallac torn in pieces by horses, from the three corpses in St. Mark's Square—they turned their eyes from these, or rather their desire made them single-eyed, with vision only for the impossible goal. The how, the when, the probabilities they forgot to think of ; their delirium overlaid all such back-drawing thoughts. There was a South Sea bubble always floating within their ken ; an El Dorado about to be won by them, as others had just failed to win it. That the bubble was never caught before it burst, that the El Dorado was never gained, but ended only in a Raleigh's death, merely added a keener zest to the pursuit which fruition would have satiated. Adventure for adventure's sake—that was the real joy of life's game.

The Reformation had shaken Europe to its foundations, and the tremulous condition of the powers afforded the very medium in which this restless spirit of adventure might most freely indulge itself. Plot after plot, hazy in outline, undefined in object, impossible of execution, appears in the political world ; "perplexing kings with fear of change," no one of whom could find the sore place, nor lay their hand on it to heal it. Conspiracy was epidemic, infecting the social atmosphere, breathed by princes and adventurers alike. Men born to great estate recklessly embarked upon schemes of which they only dimly saw the value or the issue. The Duke of Nevers meditated establishing a principality in Greece and resuscitating the empire of the East. Pope Gregory was in close connection with the adventurer Stukeley, concocting designs for a revolution in Ireland. The

Duke of Osuna saw himself King of Naples and Sicily. Even if the passion for intrigue had not been so rife in Europe, this gambling spirit of its princes and nobles would inevitably have created a lower class of doubtful characters—men who became denationalized and ready, on sufficient bribe, to turn their hand to any disgraceful work. But as it was, circumstances had already created such a class. The civil wars in France and the Spanish wars in the Netherlands turned loose upon the continent a number of men reared in camps, living by brawls and intrigues, cosmopolitan in the most vicious sense. They passed freely from one capital to another, and offered themselves for hire wherever anything was stirring. Their credentials were the rough outlines of a hundred plots and with these in their pockets they presented themselves to men like Nevers, Osuna, or Toledo. Should any one of these schemes happen to take the fancy of these princes, the details received the necessary alteration and expansion; and then the whole work was put in hand, with the adventurer as manager. In fact, these men were the promoters of bubble companies. The chief difference between our day and theirs is that the bubbles they blew were not railroads or silver mines, but political conspiracies. Their designs are marked by reckless and meaningless audacity. The number of assassinations planned or effected at this time was very large. William the Silent is shot; Henry IV. stabbed; James and the lords nearly blown up; the Doge of Venice escapes a like fate by a hair's breadth. Yet no reasonable explanation based upon political necessity can be found for these multitudinous conspiracies. It was madness to imagine that England or Venice could be overthrown by a Gunpowder Plot or a Spanish Conspiracy, and it is still more impossible to see what advantage Guy Fawkes or Pierre could have reaped from their ruin. There was the pleasure of the long and secret preparation, the excitement of the scramble for the plunder and the hurried flight,

but nothing more. Yet it is among men such as these, who owned no allegiance but to the spirit of revolutionizing adventure, that we must look for the authors and agents of these mad designs. The whole air was disturbed. For the North this disturbance meant life, vitality, and growth. England was about to develop her Parliamentary liberty. France was approaching the brilliant epoch of Louis XIV. But for Italy this invasion of the North, this rejection upon herself of her own spirit, this apparition of Machiavelli as an avenging ghost, was preparing a *tenebræ* from which there could be no resurrection.

Italy was breaking down into the abyss of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Venice shared in the general declension. She had reached her apogee and was steadily declining. After the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis in 1558, she had enjoyed nearly forty years of comparative quiet. She appeared in her fullest splendour. Never before had the Republic made so magnificent a display in the eyes of Europe; nor was she slow to invite the princes of Europe to visit her. Palaces rose along the Grand Canal; state ceremonies increased in number and in pomp; life in the sea-city appeared like one prolonged festival. But there were two ominous symptoms manifesting themselves, almost unobserved, at the very heart of Venice. The banking system caught the general fever, became inflated, and burst with ruinous results; and the population of Venice continued steadily to decrease. Not only did the population fall off in numbers, it also began to deteriorate in quality. The race for distinction in wealth and splendour shattered the poorer noble families, and the collapse of the banking system completed their ruin. The young men of these broken *case nobili* refused to embark on business; and nothing remained for them but a life of mischievous adventure, centring round the churches and the piazza. There was decay in the

noble class and a corresponding decay among the artisans. Commerce and shipbuilding steadily declined. The number of pauper and foundling children increased so rapidly that the government was compelled to make provision for their support. A large part of the population was living on the charity or the vices of the rich. But this general collapse of a widespread prosperity had a reflex action; and, while it ruined the smaller nobility and the smaller traders, it confined the flow of money to the larger houses who had weathered the storm. And so side by side there existed enormous private fortunes, luxury, and display, and a desperate poverty which hated the luxury while serving it. In fact, there was a schism inside the State; and this schism showed itself in the art no less than in the social life of Venice. The great schools of painting and of architecture, magnificent, rich, ornate, were a fitting expression of the wealth, the pomp, and pride of Venice. But from the people came a poetry that was spontaneous, native, licentious, irreligious, because it felt the reflex of the Reformation. Profanity invaded the altar. The Père Duchesne of Venice appeared. The Senate was obliged to prosecute those who chaunted fictitious psalms and obscene litanies, to take action against mock priests who administered the sacraments or received confessions. Everywhere there was an insurgence of dialect; a reformation directed not against the dogma of Rome, but against the pedantry of Rome. Comedy rose once more from the heart of the people to answer the Ciceronian phrase or the Platonic refinement. "This was the apparition of the people in letters, of Luther in poetry, of free judgment on the stage. Harlequin is opposed to the Inquisition; Pulcinella to pontifical wrath; Pantaloon to the last session of the Council of Trent. Beltran counterbalances S. Carlo Borromeo; Florindo neutralizes S. Filippo dei Neri."¹ While Europe is at the reformation, Italy had reached the revolution.

¹ See Ferrari, *op. cit.*

Here, then, is Venice divided. And the division is marked in its strongest tones of splendour and of corruption by two events : the reception of Henry III., King of France and Poland, and the Spanish Conspiracy. Henry passed through Venice in 1574, on his way to take the crown of France. The Republic determined to receive him as became his rank and her desire to secure the friendship of France. The sumptuary laws were suspended during the ten days of Henry's stay. The great ladies were invited to vie with one another in magnificence of dress and jewellery. The guilds were ordered to prepare a splendid pageant. The Palazzo Foscari, the destined lodging of the king, was hung with cloth of gold, with crimson velvet, with sky-blue silk *semé* of fleurs-de-lys.¹ Forty pages, the youth, the beauty, the nobility of Venice, were appointed for service on the king. They met him as he came in his barge from the shore near Mestre, each in his gondola, and his gondolier in silken shirt and hose embroidered with the family arms. They swept in a semicircle round the royal barge and conducted the king to Murano. Then, on the following day, in grand procession, they brought him to the palace of the Foscari. For ten days the king was fêted as no prince had ever been before. There were the gorgeous liveries of France and of Venice; fantastic barges, sea monsters on whose backs the workmen of Murano fashioned crystal vases at the furnace mouth; water pageants; triumphal arches designed by Palladio and painted by Tintoretto; regattas; serenades; fireworks on the canal by night; banquets where the plates, the knives, the forks, the food were all of sugar; a ball in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, and that parterre of lovely ladies whose perfume of beauty intoxicated the royal senses past all waking.

¹ See Marsilio della Croce for a detailed account of Henry's visit, *Historia della publica e famosa entrata in Vinegia del Serenissimo Henrico III.*, etc.

The king never forgot it nor recovered. His life after was a long mad dream. Henry is said to have left the remains of his vigour in Venice. We cannot wonder, for he brought very little with him, and Venice was a siren tangling the hearts of men in that network of woven light and colour, the silver-golden waters of her lagoons. Or shall we say that she was a harlot, selling herself for her own pleasure; buying a doubtful political importance by bartering her body, not by the force and weight of her arms?

Underneath all this pomp which Henry saw, there lay a starving and a dangerous population, casting up as a froth a mob of varied nationality; men who haunted the piazza and gained a livelihood by all disgraceful means—by spying, by informations, and by murder. The *bravi* were a source of constant alarm, and in 1600 the government passed a stringent decree of banishment against them all; but in vain. These ruffians were thoroughly acquainted with all the hiding-places of the intricate city; a favourite refuge was the palace of an ambassador, where they were sure to find a ready asylum. The police magistrates have constantly to complain that their *sbirri* are mocked and insulted from the grille in the basement of some embassy by the man they were sent to arrest. These basements were, in fact, hives of scoundrels of all sorts, petted, caressed, embraced by men like Bedmar or like Bruslart, who required their services to obtain information or to remove a foe. The difficulty of dealing with these people, the rapid spread of political corruption, and the continual murders, induced the government to encourage a class of men who were in themselves as dangerous as the *bravi*. Denouncement became a trade. The *bocca del leone* was opened and a reign of terror began, very similar to that produced by the *delatores* of imperial Rome. No one was safe—the charge of treason offered such a sure and secret method of

securing vengeance on an enemy. In every great house some servants were to be found who were informers by profession. The fearful lengths to which this system of espionage might be pushed received an illustration in the fate of the unfortunate Foscarini, accused of plotting in the house of Lady Arundel, with whom he was merely in love. Foscarini was put to death ; and the lady herself only escaped humiliation by compelling Wotton, the English ambassador, to plead her cause before the Senate ; so powerful were informers and so dangerous the confidence reposed in them by the government. Spies, *bravi*, courtesans, footmen, barbers, quack doctors—in short, all the evil spirits of the place stood together in a kind of freemasonry of iniquity with which the police were quite unable to cope. These were the elements of a corrupt society, banded together to prey on all from whom they could wring any money or other advantage. Their numbers were constantly recruited by fresh arrivals from Naples, from Spain, above all from France. The Venetian ambassador writes from Paris, "Every day my house is crowded with people who declare themselves desirous to serve the Republic ; the applications are numberless ; so full is this kingdom of idle men." No one of these adventurers who arrived at Venice was likely to remain outside the floating population of his brothers whom he found already established there. His initiation would take no long time, and he would soon learn that under the life of the Venetians themselves there was a life of foreigners, *roués*, *déclassés*—men all of them engaged in intrigue of some sort. Before long he might find himself committed to a plot as wild as that for blowing up the doge and sacking the city.

To come now to the plot itself and the details as far as we can gather them from the documents. The opening scene is laid in Naples, and it is to the despatches of Gasparo Spinelli, Venetian resident in

that city, that we must look for information.¹ Osuna arrived as viceroy in Naples on July 20, 1616. He was sent there from Sicily by the Spanish government, with the distinct object of harassing Venice in the Adriatic; the intention of Spain was to support the Archduke Ferdinand in his war against the Republic, with a view to rendering its support of the Duke of Savoy less efficacious, and thereby to forward Spanish designs for securing absolute supremacy in Italy. Osuna was resolved, in the pursuit of this policy, to challenge Venetian dominion in the Adriatic, and to break by force the Venetian claim on the "Gulf" as a *mare clausum*. Spinelli was soon aware of the viceroy's intentions—indeed, Osuna never made any secret of them—and reported home. Venice became alarmed, and instructed her agents in England and Holland to hire ships on the London Exchange and to raise troops. The dread of seeing the Dutch and English in strength in the Mediterranean—a permanent dread at the Spanish court ever since the days of the Armada—compelled the government at Madrid to change their attitude towards Venice and to send positive orders to Osuna not to enter the Adriatic. Osuna never intended to obey; he repeatedly told Spinelli that, in spite of all orders, he would send his ships into "the Gulf," but under his own, not the King's, flag. All the same, the vacillating policy of Madrid seriously hampered the viceroy, delayed his operations by long and tedious correspondence with Spain, and when Osuna was ready to strike it was too late.² In a sense Venice owed her preservation to the action of England in resolving to make her sea-power felt in the Mediterranean.

¹ *Archiv. di Stato*, Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Napoli, and Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, 1617—1618. These latter do not seem to have been consulted by Ranke and Romanin. The official decipher is missing in some cases and has to be reconstructed.

² See Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean* (London, Longmans: 1904), vol. i. chaps. iii. and v., where this aspect of the case is admirably put.

When Osuna came to Naples with the intention of challenging and breaking Venetian maritime supremacy in the Adriatic, he found that his first step must be the formation of an adequate fleet. He had received his sea-training in Flanders with Federigo Spinola, and in England; he was convinced that a sailing fleet alone could give him command of the sea; and he had learned that to make a crew efficient it must be well paid and well fed. To assist him in his plans of reform, he called in the services of several French corsairs, and chief among them the notorious Jacques Pierre, who eventually became the leading spirit in the Spanish Conspiracy.

Pierre's reputation as an adventurer was of the most dubious quality. He had preceded Osuna to Naples, arriving there in December, 1615; and Spinelli at once reported to his government that such harbingers of the viceroy's arrival could not fail to awaken suspicion.¹ His fame as a seaman, however, stood very high.² He was a Norman by birth, bred to the sea, with so little schooling that he could hardly read or write, and spoke only a broken *patois* of French and Spanish. For this reason, when we find him at Naples, he had in his company a Frenchman called Nicolas Regnault, who wrote his letters for him and acted as secretary. Pierre apparently left France to seek employment first in Tuscany,³ where he won the support of the dowager duchess, but failed to obtain leave to go privateering under the grand ducal flag. We hear of him next at Naples, building ships and trying to recover moneys due from the Duke of Savoy,⁴ who eventually paid the corsair eight thousand ducats for the use of his ships.⁵

¹ "Vedendosi prevenire la venuta del Signor d' Osuna da *simili soggetti* non può apportare se non ombra e sospetto," Romanin, *op. cit.* vol. vii. p. 115.

² *Arch. di Stato*, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Sept. 12, 1617, "un gran capitano et il miglior uomo che fosse in mare."

³ *Arch. di Stato*, Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Firenze, Dec. 25, 1610.

⁴ *Arch. di Stato*, Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Savoy, Nov. 27, 1611.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1612.

By December, 1615, he had definitely entered Osuna's service, and was employed by the Viceroy in furthering his designs for the construction of a fleet of "ships" and for the training of officers and crews. Proofs of his ability were soon displayed in the efficiency of the viceregal armament and the skill of its commander, Francisco Ribera, whose seamanship, which won him the brilliant victory of Cape Celidon, was probably due to the training of Jacques Pierre.¹ As far as the preparation of a fleet for the attack on Venice was concerned, Osuna's policy promised success. A squadron adequate to cope with Venice and the Dutch, though not, perhaps, with the English in addition, was being built up out of the disorderly navies which Osuna found on his arrival in Sicily and Naples. But the peculiar position of Venice, its shallow waters and intricate channels, called for more special preparations, and presently Spinelli has to report that in the arsenal at Naples the viceroy is building flat-bottomed boats of shallow draft.² Moreover, the viceroy was known to have in his study "un disegno bellissimo et diligentissimo della città di Venetia con tutti i Lidi,"³ with Spanish ships lying off the Castello di Sant' Andrea, and galleys in the basin of San Marco. The Ragusans too were supplying him with charts of the Adriatic⁴; a certain Captain Robert Eliot (Allyan) furnished plans of Istria with which he was well acquainted. Osuna was said to have an understanding with one of the consuls in Corfu, and there was no doubt but that great preparations were being made in the harbour of Brindisi. Osuna's ships carried a supply of standards of San Marco to

¹ Corbett, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 30.

² Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Sept. 12, 1617. "Mi disse egli anco delle barche che si fabricavano nell' arsenale molto piano nel fondo."

³ Senato, Secreta, Communicatione, April 20, 1618.

⁴ Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, April 17, 1618. "Molica [one of Osuna's spies] è stato a posta a Venetia a scandagliare la laguna, che è stato alle Tre Porti et a Chioza."

serve in ruses of war.¹ All this was well known at Venice, where there could be no doubt as to Osuna's intention to force the gulf, and, if occasion served, to attack Venice itself. The viceroy was extremely anxious to find out how the secrets of his cabinet and the operations in the arsenal came to the ears of the Venetian resident, and Spinelli's house was surrounded by spies day and night²; he even thought his life in danger. On the other hand, Osuna was fully informed of all that passed in the Senate in Venice,³ nor could the government discover where the leakage took place; all that they knew was that the news passed through the Spanish embassy at Venice, and suspicion rested on an apothecary, a subject of the Duke of Parma, but who supplied the apothecary they could not find out. How openly and for how long they had been discussing Osuna's plans at Venice we may gather from a despatch written by Spinelli to the Inquisitori di Stato, on May 16, 1617.⁴ "The viceroy," he says, "is indignant at a message he has received from Venice, telling him that in a speech in the Senate one of the members, discussing the possible arrival of

¹ Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Napoli, Oct. 10, 1617. "Mi fa sapere suddito di V. S^{ma} che si trova in questa armata esser in alcuni vasselli bandiere di San Marco per usare dei stratagemmi." Among the pilots on Osuna's fleet was a certain Giacomo Fachia di Rovigno (in Istria), "pratico dell' Istria et del porto di Malamocco," Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, March 4, 1617.

² Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Jan. 23, 1618: "Mi si tengono da alcuni giorni in quà le spie anco tutta la notte intorno questa casa." Spinelli's chief informant was Andosiglia, who obtained information from one of Osuna's pages. Andosiglia's fixed pay was ten ducats a month.

³ Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, June 9, 1618: "Col mezzo di uno di casa della Principessa di Bisagnano . . . mi vien fatto saper che vi sia in Venetia un cittadino che fa pervenire a sua Ecc^a. ogni particolare delle cose di quella città."

⁴ Inquisit. di Stato, Disp. Nap. 1617, May 16: "Che nell' Ecc^{mo}. Pregadi in renga un Ill^{mo}. Senatore, ragionando sopra la venuta de suoi galeoni in Golfo, dicesse che era necessario rintuzzare l' orgoglio et il troppo ardire di un Duchetto et reprimere con le arme queste sue tante pretensioni . . . di che intendo non può darsi pace."

his galleons in the gulf, declared that it was time to curb the pride and insolence of this little dukling, and to crush by force of arms his overweening pretensions." From all this it is clear that, as a general line of policy, Osuna intended to attack Venice in the Adriatic, that the Venetians were well aware of the fact, and that, forewarned, they forearmed, and sent instructions to their admiral in the Adriatic, to the Governor of Corfu, and, in face of the acknowledged efficiency of Osuna's fleet, demonstrated by the victory of Cape Celidon, they were raising auxiliary forces in England and Holland.

But there was another and a secret side to Osuna's schemes; and it is here that we come upon the Spanish Conspiracy properly so called. It is necessary to bear in mind that there were two distinct lines of action on the part of the viceroy, his declared and open intention to challenge Venetian supremacy in the Adriatic, and the secret plot by which he hoped to strike a blow at Venice from the inside. I see no reason, in face of the evidence, for doubting that Osuna was from the first in full understanding with the conspirators. How far he thought their mad scheme feasible is uncertain, but that he was aware of it and willing to take advantage of it for the furtherance of his openly avowed policy seems certain. It is highly improbable that the Council of Ten, in laying before the Senate a full report of the evidence on the plot, a report of the most secret nature, never intended for publication, would have been at the pains to concoct such a chain of melodramatic but overwhelming proof; and if that evidence is sound, then there can be no doubt about Osuna's participation in the conspiracy from the beginning to the end.¹ The facts, as

¹ The evidence will appear in the course of the narrative; but I may here recapitulate the chief points, which are, the testimony of Juven and Moncassin, as communicated by the Ten to the Senate; the discovery of letters addressed to Osuna in the stockings of the brothers Desbouleaux; Jacques Pierre's letter to Osuna, urging him to treat

we shall relate them from the documents, point to no other conclusion. As we have seen, Jacques Pierre had with him in Naples, in the quality of secretary, an old Frenchman named Nicholas Regnault (Nicolò Rinaldi, in the Italian documents). Regnault was an adventurer, like his patron, and—though only after the discovery of the plot in which he took a leading part—the French ambassador at Venice gave him no very good character. “Regnault,” he said, addressing the doge in cabinet, “as a matter of fact, was a bad lot; I forbade him the house a year ago, when I learned that he was taking information to the Spanish ambassador. . . . He had been publicly flogged, and unless I err, he was branded with the royal lily on one shoulder.”¹ But these facts were not known to Spinelli when he first made Regnault’s acquaintance; to the Venetian resident he appeared as one of the many French gentlemen wandering abroad in search of fortune and adventure. Regnault had a certain amount of culture, wrote a fine bold hand,² and knew Italian very well; indeed, it was for these reasons that Pierre took him into his service to supply his own defects. Spinelli first met Regnault at Constantinople; the

Pierre’s wife more harshly, so as to blind the Venetians as to the real relations between them (Communicate, Oct. 17, 1618); Spinelli’s despatch of June 9, 1618, “Si dice hora che da sua Ecc^a. era tenuto carcerato a posta un tal Visconte amico di giac Pierre per dar da intender di perseguitare anco li suoi amici”; Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli; Osuna’s confession that he knew money had been sent to the conspirators in Venice, though he denied that it came from him, “so bene che vi furono mandati denari, ma non so da qual parte non certo da me,” Ranke, *op. cit.* p. 539; Wotton’s statement on July 14, 1618, that Pierre was “tutto tutto del suddetto Vicere,” Esposizioni Principi, Inghilterra.

¹ Esposizioni Principi, Francia, July 18, 1618. “Il Rinaldi veramente era uomo cattivo; lo cacciai da mia casa sin l’anno passato. . . . Il Rinaldi fu frustato, et credo avesse un marco del giglio regio sopra la spalla.”

² Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Feb. 18, 1617-18, enclosing seven letters addressed by Regnault to Spinelli. These letters escaped the attention of Ranke and Romanin.

Frenchman was living in good society, frequenting the Venetian embassy, where Spinelli was serving on the staff of the Ambassador Bon.¹ In the autumn of 1615 Regnault came to Naples, apparently on some business of a law suit; and when Spinelli arrived as Venetian resident, the Frenchman proceeded to renew his acquaintance. Spinelli himself tells us that he was glad to see him because he appeared to be sincerely attached to the Republic, and was moreover an excellent source of information; accordingly he established the custom that Regnault should dine at least twice a week at the Venetian legation.

Regnault and Jacques Pierre were in intimate relations with one another, as we have seen, and along with them was another Frenchman, Captain Langrand,² a military engineer, skilled in the composition of Greek-fire and explosives. Both Pierre and Langrand were in the pay of the Duke of Osuna. Pierre had a wife and daughter, whom he had left at Messina when he came to Naples in Osuna's service; while Langrand had a wife or mistress, Madalena Bellona, a Frenchwoman,³ living with him in Naples—a fact of some importance in the later development of the plot.

Soon after the renewal of the friendship between Spinelli and Regnault, Pierre and Langrand began, by means of Regnault, to express to the resident a desire to enter Venetian service. Pierre had already made similar proposals as early as November 29, 1615,⁴ to Contarini, Venetian ambassador in Rome. He offered to reveal vast designs of Osuna against the Republic, but, on being pressed for details, became so vague that Contarini made up his mind that the

¹ For this account of the relations between Spinelli and Regnault, see *Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli*, Sept. 12, 1617.

² His name appears as Langrand, Langrans, Laugrand, Langlad.

³ *Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli*, Oct. 3, 1617. Also Regnault to Spinelli, Aug. 15, 1617, in despatch from Naples, Feb. 13, 1617-18.

⁴ See Contarini to the Capi of the Ten.

whole tale was *più tosto chimere che altro*. Now, however, in Naples, Regnault began to sing the praises of Pierre as a great sea-captain, whose services would be of untold value to Venice. Spinelli swallowed the bait. He had confidence in and liking for Regnault, and he granted secret interviews by night to Pierre, though he got nothing more definite from him than did Contarini, nothing more than vague outlines of plans for attacking Venice, now in Albania, now in the Morea, now in the Levant. Pierre astutely declared that he knew all Osuna's designs, but would not reveal them till he was in Venice.¹

Matters went on like this for some time, Pierre making secret visits by night to the legation or meeting Spinelli in the monastery of Santa Chiera; terrifying the resident with tales of Osuna's awful designs, but never descending to particulars; while Regnault kept up the chorus of praise, all of which the resident reported to Venice. Presently, however, Spinelli received orders from home to engage officers for service with the Republic.² He was convinced of Regnault's sincerity and Pierre's and Langrand's value; he had also another officer in his eye, Captain Alessandro Spinosa, a Roman. But as all three were in the pay of Osuna, of whose violence Spinelli had a lively terror, he did not dare to treat with them openly as to the terms of their contract with Venice.³ Accordingly they agreed to send Reg-

¹ Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Sept. 12, 1617: "Et che non voleva palesar cosa alcuna se non veniva a Venetia."

² Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Sept. 12, 1617: "Havevo ricevuto ordine publico di procurare homini di comando per carichi superiori et inferiori."

³ Inquisit. di Stato, "Et perchè non mi assicurava di intrare con questi a trattare alla libera la sua condotta per dubio che risapendolo il Signor Duca di Osuna precipitasse a qualche stravaganza contra di me. . . . So quanto siano precipitate le resolutioni del Signor Vicere che haverebe asentito ad ogni male contra la persona mia." Spinelli was so afraid of some violation of the residency that he sent the archives for safe custody to Padre Ottaviano Bon, of the Cruciferi.

nault to Venice for this purpose; and in the meantime Pierre and Langrand, who had received orders from Osuna to go to Gaeta and Civita Vecchia to raise sailors, and then to return for service on board the fleet, took the opportunity of escaping to Rome, where they told Spinelli they would await the confirmation from Venice of the terms they had settled with him. This confirmation arrived presently at Naples, and was forwarded by Spinelli to Contarini, who communicated it to Pierre, Langrand, and Spinosa. Pierre was promised service, but declined any definite salary, declaring that he was sure the Republic would reward him adequately for the services he was about to render; Langrand received a contract for three years at forty ducats a month.¹ Of Spinosa's contract I can find no trace, though we shall presently see that he was immediately given a very high and important command. It does not appear from the documents that Spinosa was actually in company with the other three; it is more likely that, as an Italian, he was acting separately, and had merely been picked out by Spinelli on account of his well-known reputation as a soldier. Regnault, Pierre, and Langrand arrived in Venice in May, 1617, Spinosa apparently a little later.

Contarini took a very different view of the character and intentions of Pierre from that expressed by Spinelli. Spinelli, in forwarding a sort of letter of recommendation to the government, declared that "Captain Langrand and Jacques Pierre have entered Venetian service with the sincerest intention and desire to act honourably. I know this from many proofs and observations, and chiefly because those who are here suspected of having had a hand in their flight have been imprisoned and cruelly tortured."²

¹ Senato, Secreta Communicationi, Aug. 2, 1617.

² Romanin, *op. cit.* vol. vii. 118. Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Napoli, Aug. 1, 1617. Spinelli refers here to a certain Visconti, whose arrest and torture were afterwards described as a blind employed by the duke.

This was the line Spinelli took all along, until one after another the men he had sent to Venice were discovered traitors. He continually urges that it is impossible to doubt their good faith in face of the way in which Osuna was harassing their relations and friends. On the other hand, Contarini wrote from Rome on April 15, 1617, as follows: "Captain Jacques Pierre has in a hundred ways expressed his firm desire to enlist in Venetian service; it has frequently crossed my mind that this corsair, whose character merits as little confidence as his courage and audacity call for respect, is trying to enter the pay of the Republic in order that, having once obtained a command in the fleet, he may render some service to the Duke of Osuna and the Spanish; such insistence does not seem to be natural. I may be wrong, and hope it is so. In any case, a good doctor knows how to use even poisons; I mean to say that your serenity can quite well avail yourself of his information and his services in such a way as to secure the benefit without the damage."¹

Events proved that Contarini was right, and Spinelli himself admitted subsequently that Osuna's attitude was merely a blind. When the viceroy heard that Pierre, Langrand, and Spinosa had left Naples for Venetian service, he certainly arrested and said he had tortured Marco Visconti on the charge of having assisted Pierre and Langrand, and Spinelli reports that he flew into a passion on receipt of the news that they had arrived in Venice, though it is true he adds, "or at least he feigned rage very cleverly if it were fictitious."² As to Spinosa, here again the viceroy's conduct convinced Spinelli that the breach between the duke and this officer was genuine and complete. Writing home after the execution of

¹ Romanin, *op. cit.* vol. vii. p. 118. Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Roma, April 15, 1617.

² Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Sept. 12, 1717: "Sua eccellenza intese la venuta di detti francesi a Venetia arabiava dal dispiacere, overo fingeva molto bene quando sia altramente."

Spinosa, he says, "The subtlest art was employed to deceive me. I could never have believed that, as the viceroy had cashiered Spinosa, imprisoned him, and affronted him in other ways, these¹ injuries could ever have been overlooked." Spinelli's attitude was not unnatural: Osuna's conduct would have deceived a shrewder man than the Venetian resident at Naples; and yet there can hardly be any doubt that the viceroy "*fingeva molto bene*." The facts that Spinosa was still retained in Osuna's pay, that he had hardly reached Venice before he embarked on treasonable courses, and that Pierre and company were in frequent correspondence with Naples, render the conclusion almost certain. I do not mean that Osuna either knew the details of their mad designs or discussed their execution; but he was aware that these French and Italian adventurers had gone to Venice to further Spanish interests and his own plans, he was quite prepared to take advantage of whatever treachery they might perpetrate, and they could look to him for support and reward.

When Pierre, Regnault, and Langrand reached Venice they met with a cold reception. The government had before them Spinelli's warm recommendation and Contarini's shrewd letter of warning, and in the perplexity of the situation they delayed to fulfil the contract; none of the three received a commission. With Spinosa it was different. Contarini had not seen him; in his case there was no hostile report. He was almost immediately appointed to the important post of Governor of the Castle of Chioggia.²

Meanwhile, the government was in constant receipt of news which made them uneasy as to the attitude

¹ Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Oct. 3, 1617: "Ha usato grandissima arte per ingannarmi . . . essendogli stato levata la compagnia dal Sig. Vicere, fatto carcerare, et fattigli altri affronti."

² Consig. de X. Processi, Criminali, reg. 34, fol. 45, Aug. 25, 1617: "Cap°. Alessandro Spinosa ultimamente richiamato dalla custodia del Castello di Chioggia dove era deputato."

of the Spanish ambassador, Alfonso della Queva, Marquis of Bedmar. As early as June 27, 1615, Lionello, secretary in London, had informed the inquisitors that Bedmar was planning mischief and had many partisans even among the nobles.¹ And as a matter of fact, Bedmar was in close correspondence with Osuna, helping him to mature his designs and encouraging him in every way by representing the Venetian exchequer as exhausted and the whole direction of her naval and military forces in confusion. More alarming still, Bedmar was observed to be in close relations with the English ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton,² and the French ambassador, Leon de Bruslart.³ All this, coupled with Osuna's openly declared intentions, news of which was furnished almost weekly by Spinelli, warned the government that the situation was critical and kept them in a state of high nervous tension. When Jacques Pierre did begin to make his promised revelations, he told the government nothing that they did not know already.

Meantime Pierre and company, finding that they were making no progress, that their commissions were delayed and themselves treated coldly, resolved to take a step characteristic of adventurers. They had measured their man at Naples and knew quite well that Spinelli was living in terror of his life. They wrote an anonymous letter to the resident,⁴

¹ Romanin, *op. cit.* vol. vii. p. 119.

² Senato, Secreta, Communicationi, filza viii. June 28, 1617: The English ambassador spent two hours with the Spanish ambassador, a thing he had not done for a year past. Also, Lionello from London, August 11, 1617, Winwood (Vinut) had inquired about Wotton "del quale li provenivano ogni giorno alle orecchie avvisi peggiori che eran intorno la sua poca fedeltà"; "et è fama che fusse guadagnato da Spagnoli al trattato di Vesel."

³ Romanin, *op. cit.* vol. vii. p. 120.

⁴ The letter is enclosed in Spinelli's despatch of July 26. It is in Regnault's fine, bold hand. See Senato, Secreta, Communicationi, Aug. 2, 1617. Spinelli says, "Ricevo hora una lettera scrittami da Venetia . . . sotto scritta Pierrez Serandaeus et credo sia il Capitan Giac Pier et compagni."

threatening to return to Naples "to thank him as he deserved." Spinelli took this as a threat on his life. He wrote home on July 26 enclosing the letter, and went on to say that in settling the terms of Pierre's and Langrand's contracts he had merely carried out orders from the government. "These men now seem to be highly indignant that my promises have not been kept. They think they have been befooled. If they do come back here, they will certainly kill me. Osuna will do nothing to protect me when he finds out that it was I who sent them into your serenity's service. But if these Frenchmen are satisfied—Langrand by receiving his pay of forty ducats a month and Pierre by some honourable employment—I could then stay on here with less danger. Regnault, too, who went to Venice to conclude the contract, might at least receive his travelling expenses. They threaten to be here in a few days, so delay is most dangerous. I think it would be as well to employ them with the fleet, for if they choose they can render signal services."¹ This was followed by the letter of recommendation dated August 1, already quoted, and to Spinelli's great relief both Pierre and Langrand were definitely taken into Venetian service on August 5, 1617.² But Spinelli was not quit of them yet. On August 15 Regnault wrote to him asking him on behalf of Langrand to advance fifteen ducats to Madalena Bellona, Langrand's wife, whom he wished to bring to Venice.

¹ Senato, Secreta, Communicationi, Aug. 2, 1617: "Sono venuti a Venetia condottivi di ordine publico havendo io qui terminato il stipendio al Capitano Langrans, ingenero, in 40 ducati al mese et il Cap°. Giac Pier con speranza di esser riconosciuto secondo il buon servitio che prestava. . . . Il Sig°. Nicolò Rinaldi partì di qua per venir a trattar a Venetia la condotta di questi e sarebbe bene darle alcuna sodisfattione almeno delle spese del viaggio. . . . Sarebbe bene mandarli in armata, perchè quando vogliono, come spero, possino prestar ottimo servitio."

² Senato, Secreta, Delib. under date. Romanin, *op. cit.* vol. vii. p. 124.

Spinelli consented, out of fear that these ruffians ("questi soggetti") would do him an injury.¹ When Madalena did set out early in 1618, she was arrested by Osuna's orders at Aversa,² a short distance from Naples, thereby confirming the impression which he wished to create—namely, that Pierre and his whole company were in deep disgrace with the viceroy, and might therefore safely be trusted by Venice.

Langrand was now drawing his pay from the Republic, though as yet without a post, while Pierre began to fulfil his promises of what he would do when once admitted to Venetian service. He put in vague statements as to Osuna's designs in conjunction with the Archduke Ferdinand, as to his armaments intended for the Levant, as to his flat-bottom boats filled apparently with merchandise, but really concealing soldiers, with which the viceroy proposed to seize the city of Venice; all the wild schemes, in short, which the government had heard of over and over again from Spinelli and from Contarini. The surprise was to be carried out in March or in September of the following year.³ But Pierre had already taken a far more definite step to win the confidence of his employers.

We must return for a little to Captain Spinosa, Governor of the Castle at Chioggia. This Roman

¹ Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Feb. 18, 1617-18, enclosure i. Regnault to Spinelli, Aug. 15, 1617; Inquisit. Dispacci, Napoli, Oct. 3, 1617, Spinelli to Inquisitori: "Rinaldi mi ricercò li giorn passati de dover esborsare ducati 15 ad una Madalena Bellona . . . gli li esborsai et gli lo scrissi, et stimai bene di fargli servitio perchè questi giorni passati hebbi grandissimo timore che questi soggetti mi farebbero qualche burla." Langrand seemed unwilling to repay Spinelli's loan, but Regnault compelled him to do so out of his pay. Spinelli to Inquisitori, Feb. 13, 1617-18, "Et dopo qualche mese istesso Renaldi me li fece ricuperar dalle paghe del detto Langrand."

² For the arrest of Madalena see Inquisit. Dispacci, Napoli, Jan. 30 and Feb. 13, 1617-18.

³ Consig. di X. Parti Secrete, Sept. 2, 1617; also Senato, Secreta, Communicationi, of same date.

adventurer soon made the acquaintance of his French brother-adventurers in Venice, and among others, of Jacques Pierre, if he had not known him already at Naples when both were in the duke's pay. Spinosa also made friends among the aristocracy, especially with the patrician Girolamo Grimani, a man with an overweening conceit of his own value, and a grievance against the government for not employing him. Grimani and Spinosa were always about together, and Grimani's brother-nobles used to rally him on his attachment to "suo Capitano." Under Spinosa's influence Grimani finally resolved to seek the service of Osuna, a step which proved his ruin.¹ Spinosa, moreover, it seems, was already in secret relations with Bedmar.² He introduced Pierre to the Spanish embassy, where in the room of the secretary, Robert Brouillard, they had an interview with the ambassador, and freely discussed Osuna's plans against Venice. Here Pierre saw his opportunity. He may have been jealous of a fellow-adventurer and unwilling to admit a partner in the prospective profits, but more probably he was merely intent on securing to himself the confidence of the Venetian government, so as to enable him the more safely to mature his plot. In any case, he denounced Spinosa to the Council of Ten, about the middle of August sending in a detailed account of the colloquy at the Spanish embassy. How he, an officer in the service of the Republic, justified his own presence at the embassy and allayed Venetian suspicion, we do not know; probably he said he was spying in Venetian interests, and adduced his present conduct in proof. However that may be, on August 25, 1617, the Council of Ten ordered the arrest of Captain Alessandro

¹ Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Oct. 10, 1617. Grimani to Cardinal Melini, Naples, Oct. 27, enclosed in Spinelli's despatch of Oct. 31.

² According to Daru (lib. xxxi.), who has some brief though incomplete and inexact notice of the Spinosa affair, ignored by Romanin and Ranke,

Spinosa, who had been recalled from his post as Governor of the Castle at Chioggia, and his case was committed to the Inquisitori di Stato and the Criminal Committee of the Ten.¹ The court wrote to Spinelli to furnish full particulars about the man he had recently sent into Venetian service, and by September 5 Spinelli had in his hands a denunciation of Spinosa, furnished by the legation spy Andosiglia, declaring that Spinosa was still drawing his pay from Osuna, and enclosing a document "*de vita et moribus* di esso Alessandro Spinosa," painting the captain in lurid colours.² But the Inquisitori at Venice did not wait for Spinelli's report. On September 6 they proceeded to a further examination of the prisoner. They had orders from the Ten, that if Spinosa persisted in denying the charge, he was to be told that "at his interview with the Spanish ambassador in the secretary's room, there were present Captain Jacques Pierre and D. Annibale Rennat [? Regnault], a Frenchman, and the tenor of his remarks to the ambassador is to be repeated to him. If he does not then confess, he is to be put to the torture, as we desire to have him convicted and confessed of the truth of these particulars."³ Whether Spinosa confessed or not we

¹ Consig. di X. Processi Criminali, reg. 34, fol. 45: "Che per le cose dette e lette il Cap°. Alessandro Spinosa . . . sia ritento."

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² Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Sept. 5, Sept. 12, and Oct. 3. Andosiglia received his information about Spinosa's pay through a page of the duke. Spinelli writes, "Intendo molte cose in detta relatione (*de vita*, etc.) che mai me le haverei imagnate di questo soggetto ch'io tenni in molta consideratione di buon et onorato soldato."

³ Consig. di X. *ibid.* fol. 46^{vo}: "Et persistendo nelle negative li sia detto che al congresso suo con l'ambasciatore di Spagna nella camera del Segretario si sono ritrovati presenti con esso il Cap°. Giac Pier et D. Annibal Rennat francese, et di più li siano anche detti li particolari delle loro trattationi di all' hora; et non confessando

do not know.¹ On September 15 Spinosa was called on by the Ten to put in his defence, which would lead us to suppose that he had not confessed; and on the same date Grimani was summoned to give evidence, but, as we shall see, he had already fled. Spinosa demanded that Spinelli should be examined, and also Grimani, to which, on September 16, the court replied that they would not examine Spinelli, their envoy at Naples, and could not examine Grimani as he was "fuori dello stato"; if Spinosa had anything further to urge, he is to do so at once.² On September 22 the Ten proceeded to condemnation and sentence in the usual form. The vote condemning the prisoner was unanimous; the doge, one councillor, and one chief of the Ten moved sentence in the following terms: "That to-morrow morning, the 23rd inst., at the sound of the Marangona,³ the prisoner be conducted between the columns of San Marco, and there on a high gibbet he be hung by the neck so that he die." This found four supporters. An amendment was moved that the prisoner be strangled in prison, and then hung up by one foot between the two columns till sundown. This received ten votes, and was carried.⁴ There was a difficulty in finding any one to carry out this sentence; it was probably neither easy nor safe to strangle a strong man in a narrow cell that could only hold two or three persons at the most; but a condemned prisoner, a certain Andrea, bricklayer of

habbia esso collegio del caso di andar con la persona del detto Cap°. Alessandro al tormento," etc.

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¹ The minutes of the trial were in the *Cason Grande* and have perished along with all the other invaluable documents. See Consig. X. Parti Secrete, Nov. 28, 1618.

² Consig. di X. *ibid.* fol. 47, fol. 48.

³ The Marangona was the great bell of San Marco, rung in the morning to call artisans to work and in the evening to cease work.

⁴ Consig. di X. Processi, Criminali, reg. 34, fol. 48.

San Bruson on the Brenta, nicknamed "the Cripple" ("el Zoto"), undertook the task, on condition that his sentence was remitted, and carried it out.¹ The day before Spinosa's arrest his friend Grimani had been warned by some of his brother-nobles to take care what he was about, as the Inquisitori were convinced that his friends, these foreign captains, were spies. On the day of the arrest Grimani came into the Piazza of San Marco to meet Spinosa. He saw at once that there was an unusual display of police, and taking alarm, he hurried home; but just at his door he heard that *suo Capitano* had been seized, and he at once took refuge in a monastery. The Ten sent to his house in town and then to his villa to summon him, but in vain. After four or five days in hiding, he slipped out of Venice, and after long wandering on foot by unfrequented roads he managed to win free of Venetian territory and eventually reached Rome. There he applied to Cardinal Borgia for an introduction to Osuna. The Cardinal declined to assist him, but said he had better apply to Cardinal Melini, who had known Spinosa, and was in correspondence with the viceroy. Grimani passed on to Naples, where after some difficulty he obtained access to Osuna, who received him kindly, and ordered his secretary, Uriva, to give him one hundred ducats. The money was not forthcoming at once, and Grimani lived on in great straits, experiencing frequent changes of fortune as the viceroy's mood varied.² On October 12, 1617, the Council of Ten empowered the Inquisitori "to take every possible means to kill Grimani,"³ and, in obedience to analogous instructions, Spinelli made arrangements, through Andosiglia, with two young gunners that Grimani was to be tempted to set out for Ancona, where

¹ Consig. di X. Processi, Criminali, reg. 34, fol. 48^{vo}.

² Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Oct. 10, 1617.

³ Consig. di X. Parti Secrete, Oct. 12, 1617: "Sia dato autorità agli Inquisitori nostri di Stato di poter per ogni via possibile procurar che li sia levata la vita."

he was to meet his wife. On the way, Andosiglia said, "there are woods and mountain tracts and solitary places where execution can be done without the smallest risk."¹ Andosiglia also told Spinelli that as he constantly dined with Grimani and slept in a room near to him, he could easily *far l'effetto*, if the resident would give him "a little good poison." Spinelli, however, refused to take any overt steps against Grimani in Naples itself, being certain that if anything happened to the Venetian, Osuna would fasten the blame on him, and take vengeance on the resident and his household.² Grimani, partly from poverty and partly from fear, did not leave Naples, and was still there at the time when the Spanish Conspiracy at Venice was discovered and exploded.

On the revelation of Spinosa's treasonable practices the Inquisitori seem to have written a sort of reprimand to Spinelli for sending such doubtful characters into Venetian service; for we find the resident replying, on October 3, that he could never have believed that Spinosa, after the insults put upon him, would still have remained faithful to the duke. "In any case," he adds, "I will have nothing more to do with enlisting strangers, as the world is daily growing worse and worse and loyalty is dying out."³

The viceroy was furious when he heard of Spinosa's execution, an anger which helps to confirm the fact of Spinosa's treacherous relations, and shows that Osuna was even then employing soldiers of adventure for treasonable purposes inside Venice, and if Spinosa, why not Pierre, though it may not have been clear to Osuna why Pierre should have betrayed Spinosa. He knew the fact,⁴

¹ Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Oct. 24, 1617; Jan. 30, 1617-18; Feb. 27, 1617-18.

² *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1617.

³ *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1617: "Perchè il mondo si fa sempre più scelerato et la fede va mancando."

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1617. Grimani promised to find out the details for Osuna. Oct. 31: "Dicendo il Vicere che era stato Giac Pier che le haveva accusato."

however, and in conversations which came to Spinelli's ears he declared that Jacques Pierre deserved to be killed for it.¹ These remarks served to confirm Spinelli in his confidence that Pierre and company could be fully trusted by the Republic, and he reported home in that sense.² Yet it seems certain that Pierre was in correspondence with Osuna, and the viceroy himself admitted it, though he denied sending "continue lettere e denari," as Pierre had affirmed to Grimani.³

In any case, Pierre seems to have succeeded in strengthening his position at Venice by the denunciation of Spinosa, though the government was not as credulous as its envoy, Spinelli. Regnault, writing to Spinelli on August 15—that is, just at the time Pierre was laying information against Spinosa—says that the doge had "received Pierre, embraced and kissed him as though he had been a dear brother, and declared that he would make him *un figliolo di San Marco*." Regnault adds, however, that Pierre is not satisfied with the small rewards he has received as yet, but expects honourable employment soon. Again, on October 7, he writes that Pierre "is so beloved by the Serene Republic that they are going to send him shortly against those devils of Uskoks"; and on November 25, that Pierre "has given such proof of his fidelity and has rendered such signal services to the State that I am sure you would be pleased at the honour in which you have a share as having intro-

¹ Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Oct. 31, 1617: "Hora non solo intendo dall' Andosiglia che sua Eccellenza habbia detto di doverle ammazzare, havendo lui scoperto il trattato del Spinosa."

² *Ibid.*: "Mentre che sua Ecc^a. si tiene offesa da Giac Pier et che dice di vendicarsene io non credo certo che vi possa passar tra essi ne lettere ne corrispondenza; pure sono tanti gli artefici et le trame de Spagnoli che non mi basta l'animo di affermare cosa alcuna."

³ *Ibid.*: "Soggionse [Osuna] che dopo che era [Pierre] a Venetia gli haverà scritto una lettera per potersene ritornar sicuramente." . . . "Havendo egli [Pierre] dato ad intendere al Grimani di haver continue lettere e denari . . . da sua Ecc^a. per quel trattato, il che dice sua Ecc^a. non esser vero."

duced him to the service of the Republic. If I had a cipher I would send you the details."¹ Regnault is referring, beyond doubt, to Pierre's services in denouncing Spinosa. He was probably painting the situation of Pierre and company in too rosy colours. As a matter of fact, neither Pierre nor Langrand received any appointment, and Regnault, on December 23, complains to Spinelli that as yet he has had no remuneration for all his trouble.²

Considering the whole of the Spinosa episode, it seems that as yet the government had discovered no definite plot, and that Spinosa was executed for vague but treasonable talk at the Spanish embassy. But the Venetians could not help seeing in the episode a confirmation of the sinister rumours which were constantly reaching them, and probably Grimani's friends were right when they said that the Inquisitori held all these foreign captains, including Pierre, for spies.

Meanwhile Osuna was active in "the Gulf." In July, 1617, his fleet sailed from Brindisi, and in the waters of Lesina, off the Dalmatian coast, it met the Venetian squadron, which declined an engagement and retired with some slight losses. Osuna magnified the encounter to the proportions of a great naval victory and issued a medal in commemoration. The news of this engagement encouraged Pierre and company in Venice, for throughout the whole of the conspiracy Pierre always told his companions that the co-operation of Osuna's fleet was an essential part of the scheme.

Pierre had been working steadily to enlist associates in his design, which was a rising in Venice itself, sup-

¹ Regnault's letters to Spinelli enclosed in Dispacci, Napoli, Feb. 13, 1617-18: "L'amico che tratto primo con V.S. Clar^{ma}. fu hieri [Aug. 14] a visitare sua Serenità nella sua Camera, dove da lei fu talmente ricevuto et accaressato che non lo posso dire . . . fine a bacciarlo et abbracciarlo come se gli forse stato caro fratello"; and on Nov. 4: "Havendo renduto tale cosi segnalati servicii a questa Republica che V.S. Clar^{ma}. si stupirà quando lo saprà."

² Regnault to Spinelli, Dec. 23: "Ma fine hora non no havuto remunerazione alcuna di tanti servicii cho fatto."

ported from the sea by the Neapolitan fleet. His chief recruiting-ground was naturally the foreign mercenaries in Venetian pay. Among these were a strong force of Dutch under Levenstein who had, in spite of Osuna's watchfulness at the mouth of the Adriatic, been brought into Venice by the Dutch fleet of eleven ships under the command of Hildebrant Quast.¹ These troops had been interned at the Lazzaretto, where inaction, want of pay, and poor food soon made them ripe for mutiny. Pierre and his immediate friends had little difficulty in winning them over to his designs. In conjunction with Bedmar² everything was arranged for a rising in January. But on November 10 the Venetian admiral Lorenzo Venier defeated Osuna's commander Ribera off Santa Croce and drove his fleet, very roughly handled, into Brindisi.³ Moreover, Osuna was in receipt of imperative orders from Spain to recall his fleet from the Adriatic.⁴ Thus hampered, he was powerless to take any steps to support his confederates inside Venice. But the Dutch in the Lazzaretto were not to be deterred. Having made up their minds to mutiny, they did so, in spite of Bedmar's efforts to induce them to postpone the rising till they could look for outside support.⁵

¹ Corbett, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 53.

² Senato, Secreta, Communicationi, filza viii. Dec. 3, 1618; Roberto Brouillard's letter to Osuna of May 13, 1618; Consig. di X. May 17, 1618.

³ Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Napoli, Dec. 4, 1617. Spinelli encloses a good account of the engagement sent to him by the Princess of Stigliano and dated November 23. The Spanish losses are given as 300 killed and 300 wounded in Spinelli's dispatch of December 19.

⁴ Corbett, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 49, 59. Osuna was told by his court that he must abandon his design against Venice.

⁵ Consig. di X. Parti Secrete, May 17, 1618: "Mentre gli olandesi erano ammutinati al Lazaretto fece [Bedmar] loro offerir denari persuadendoli persister nell'ammutinamento con ferma speranza di presto soccorso con galee, barche armate et altri vaselli di Napoli." Senato, Secreta, Communicationi, Dec. 3, 1618. Robert Brouillard writes to Osuna to say that at the time of the rising of the Dutch troops "fu procurato dalla parte dell' ambasciatore p^o. di dar fomento a questo tumulto faccendoli esortar a trattenersi per x o 15 giorni perchè fra tanto saria gionto il soccorso di Osuna."

The mutiny was crushed, and thus ended the first of the two great blows which Osuna, by means of Jacques Pierre, had intended to deliver at Venice.

It is not likely that the Venetian government was at the time fully informed as to all the ramifications of this first plot; they were not aware at once of Bedmar's and Pierre's parts in the rising, and looked upon it merely as an outburst of discontented foreign troops. No steps were taken against Pierre and his companions, though letters from Naples from the too confiding Spinelli were beginning to point to suspicions even in that ingenuous envoy.

But on the news of the defeat of Ribera and when the Dutch rising was doomed thereby to failure, Pierre sent an acquaintance of his, a Frenchman named Margogliet,¹ to consult with Osuna, and to make arrangements for a renewal of their joint attempt to surprise Venice. Margogliet was well received, but had not returned to Venice at the time of the discovery of the second design. Instead a certain Francesco Molica was sent to Venice, and Spinelli warned his government against him, as he had "a wide acquaintance among the nobility, and is probably sent to keep open correspondence with the duke." "A tailor in the Campo degli Squelini can give information about him." By the end of February Molica was back again in Naples with soundings of the lagoons from Treporti to Malamocco.² If we accept as authentic the letter dated April 7, 1618,³ addressed by Pierre to Osuna, we

¹ Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Jan. 18, 1617-18. I think that the Margogliet of Spinelli's despatches is the same person as Daru's, Ranke's, and Romanin's Lorenzo Nolot.

² *Ibid.*, Jan. 16 and 23, 1617-18: Molica "dipende certo dal servizio del Sr. Duca, se ben qui è in concetto di spia doppia." Feb. 27: "Molica e stato a posta a Venetia a scandaghire la laguna . . . dice che si trascuri ogni guardia et che li basta l'animo de introdurvi galee di sua Ecc^a. senza difficoltà alcuna." Ap. 17.

³ The letter is printed among Daru's *Pièces Justificatives*, in vol. xi. p. 36 of the translation published at Capolago, 1837. The MS. is

have further and convincing proof of the close understanding between the two. In that letter Pierre explains to the duke the steps he had taken to organize the mutiny of the Dutch troops. He complains that Margogliet (Nolot) had returned to Venice ten days too late; that he could not hold the Dutch any longer, and therefore the whole design had failed, otherwise "Venezia sarebbe in nostro potere." But if God grants him life and freedom from discovery, he promises to renew the attempt; "ancora non sono fuori di speranza di ruinir la gente, se per sorte non vengo impiegato in mare da questi Signori." That was his dread, lest he should be sent to sea and so deprived of all means of organizing the plot inside Venice.

In the meantime, however, Pierre, after the failure of the first attempt and the suppression of the Dutch mutiny, had been busily engaged in securing recruits for the second enterprise. The great recruiting-ground, the Piazza, was always open to him, teeming with idlers ready for any mischief. He and his friends found little difficulty in enlisting a band of conspirators; they had established apparent connections with the great embassies in Venice; they might be seen going in and out of the French and Spanish ambassadors' palaces, familiar with side doors and known to the servants. They could use these powerful names and hint at more powerful in the background. The mere attraction of a plot was sufficient for these lawless spirits; that the outlines were vague only rendered it more fascinating; the imagination had freer scope to magnify the possible prizes. They drank in said to exist in the Biblioteca di Brienna, No. 10, in a collection entitled *Relazioni italiane per servire all'istoria dal 1597 al 1626*. Romanin, *op. cit.* vol. vii. p. 125, note 2, says: "Vedi sua lettera al duca d'Osuna in Daru ch'io credo autentica concordando coll'andamento dei fatti." There is nothing in the letter that makes against its authenticity, but it is impossible to affirm it without seeing the MS. If it were in Regnault's handwriting that would conclusively establish its genuineness.

with childlike avidity Pierre's high-sounding schemes for murdering the Senate, or the *Maggior Consiglio*, it did not much matter which, for sacking the Mint, rifling the armoury of the Ten, blowing up the arsenal.¹ They hardly paused to ask the how and the when.

Among Pierre's followers were the two brothers Charles and Jean Desbouleaux, and one day, as he was in the church of San Marco, he passed a young Frenchman, whom he at once resolved to enlist. This was Gabriel Moncassin, a gentleman of Languedoc, about thirty years of age, who, after some wanderings at Genoa, Florence, and Rome, had reached Venice about the middle of March and had enrolled himself in Venetian service. Pierre accosted Moncassin, offered to show him his way about the town, took him to dine, and finally installed him in his own lodging. Little by little, by means of dark hints and mysterious utterances, Moncassin's curiosity was aroused, and finally, under oath of secrecy, he was informed that there was a plot against Venice, and was invited to join, which he did. The chief conspirators now numbered eight or nine—Pierre, his secretary Rossetti, Langrand, Regnault, the two Desbouleaux, Moncassin, a certain Berard, and Margogliet. One day Pierre took his band to the top of the Campanile and there unfolded in detail the whole design. Pointing to the two entrances of Lido and Malamocco, he said that a strong landing-party from Osuna's fleet on a concerted date would drop anchor off the Lido shore, and could easily row into the lagoon in flat-bottomed boats, which had already been prepared. They could seize and barricade the Piazza and Rialto, while Langrand would fire the arsenal and bring out the guns to hold the Piazza and Rialto, "*chi tien San Marco tien tutto*." The leading nobles in the *Maggior Consiglio* could be killed or seized, the others held to ransom; the armoury of the Council of Ten was to be forced, and the arms, which were always loaded, were to be distributed to the supporters whom

¹ Senato, *Secreta, Communicationi*, May 17, 1618.

the conspirators would find among the nobles and the people; the Mint doors would be blown in with petards. Osuna only wanted the city; the loot, the ransoms, and the treasury he left to the conspirators; each of them would be rich enough to raise ten thousand men for three years, and what glorious prospects of fighting and plundering with such a force at their backs. Contemporaneously Crema would be surprised from inside and handed over to the Spaniards in Milan. It was all quite easy; the Venetians were only good "at eating and sleeping" ("al cibo et al sonno"); a resolute man with a stick could send the whole crowd flying; it was a marvel Venice had remained so long intact.¹ If Pierre and Langrand should be sent to sea, as they feared, they would still be able to assist the plot by corrupting the seamen and rendering the fleet powerless against Osuna's ships by spiking the guns.² The time, however, was not ripe yet. March or April had been fixed for the arrival of Osuna's fleet, but it had encountered storms off Manfredonia and had been compelled to return to refit. The whole scheme would be deferred till the following September or October. Meanwhile, the brothers Desbouleaux would go to Naples with letters of recommendation from Bedmar to put the final touches to the concert with Osuna. Such were the outlines of the plot as subsequently revealed by the examination of witnesses and the investigations of the Ten.

But as yet the government had no definite information on the subject. It is true that Spinelli from Naples began to sound a dubious note as to the character and intentions of Pierre and company. On February 13, 1618, he wrote home to say that though he thought it impossible that Pierre could

¹ Ranke, *op. cit.*, pp. 477-83. The document of October 17, 1618, gives this account of the design.

² Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, June 9, 1618: "Mi vien fatto sapere che quel triste di Giac Pier havesse intelligenze in armata et sopra le galee grosse in particolare, acciochè quando occorresse di combattere con questi galeoni fossero inchiodate le artellarie."

ever make it up with Osuna, because of the Spinosa affair, still it would be advisable to send him and his companions on board the fleet, where an eye could be kept on them and where they could easily be punished if guilty, "che io non lo posso creder per hora."¹ On February 20 Spinelli repeats his conviction that there can be no communication between Pierre and Osuna, for Osuna has caused Pierre's wife and daughter to be arrested in Messina and is treating them so harshly that Spinelli has been obliged to supply money to keep them alive, as he dare not offend Pierre, who at his departure from Naples had confided his women-folk to the resident's care. "I am certain," he adds, "that the duke is persecuting them in earnest, and there cannot possibly be any understanding between him and Pierre."² And yet it seems certain that this persecution of Pierre's wife was in fact a ruse concocted by the duke and the corsair to blind the Venetians as to their true relations; for Pierre himself told his brother-conspirators that he had asked Bedmar to write to Naples that his wife might be treated as harshly as possible, and that this treatment should be made public, so as to conceal the true situation.³ And immediately on the receipt of news that Pierre had been executed, Osuna released his wife, treated her with all kindness, and sent her home to Naples. On March 6 Spinelli reports that Osuna has been inquiring of Grimani whether Venice would give Pierre a command in the fleet, and had used expressions which made Grimani suspect that the Viceroy was in communication with Pierre and Regnault; he therefore recommends that Pierre be kept under observation, though he still repeats that

¹ Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, Feb. 13, 1617-18.

² *Ibid.*: "Che io stimo certo che lo perseguiti da vero et che non vi possa esser più accommodamento," Feb. 20.

³ Senato, Secreta, Communicationi, Oct. 17, 1618: "Et che Giacpier lo [Bedmar] avea ricercato a scrivere a Napoli acciochè fusse posta sua moglie in maggior strettezza e divulgato questo rigore, per colorirsi il trattato."

he cannot believe that any relations exist between Pierre and the duke. But on March 13 he announces further and independent information, furnished by a certain Zuanne Sorato, of Udine, a merchant in Naples, who of his personal knowledge warns the Venetians to beware of Pierre.¹ He adds that, "per le tante machinationi di questo Vicerè convengo prender ombra d'ogni cosa."

In Venice, too, apart from Spinelli's warnings, suspicion was accumulating round Pierre and his companions. The government was growing more and more nervous as rumours reached them, now of designs on the fortress at Marano, now on the strong place of Palma,² now that the viceroy had on his table a full and accurate plan of Venice, which the informer Bernardo Drusi had seen with his own eyes, and that great preparations were going on in the port of Brindisi.³ Still there was nothing definite as to a plot inside Venice; as to Osuna's hostile designs outside Venice, in the Adriatic, they had been fully informed from the first. But on April 9 an anonymous letter was found in the chamber of the cabinet, and handed to the Inquisitors. It threw grave doubts on the loyalty of Langrand, and incidentally attacked Pierre as well.⁴ Thereupon the government ordered Langrand to Zara to carry on his profession of Greek-fire maker, and Pierre, with his secretary Rossetti, to join the fleet, while they informed the commander, Barbarigo, of the suspicions under which both were labouring.

¹ Inquisit. di Stato, Dispacci, Napoli, March 13, 1618.

² Senato, Secreta, Communicationi, April 19, 1618.

³ *Ibid.* April 24, 1618.

⁴ Consig. di X. Parti Secrete, April 9, 1618: "Che del contenuto della lettera senza sottoscrizione ne data alcuna trovata ultimamente dove si riduceva il collegio nostro, et che è stata fatta capitar agli Inquisitori nostri di Stato in proposito del Capitan Langlad francese, per la quale vien posta in sospetto la sua fede nel servitio della signoria nostra et così intorno la persona del Capitano Giac Pierre paramente francese"; information is to be given to the Admiral Barbarigo.

This is what Pierre had dreaded, and he tried to parry the blow by one of his usual adventurer's ruses. He submitted to the government a long memorandum on Spanish designs and on Osuna's projects, which, with the leave of Venice, he desired to forward to the King of France, by means of Regnault. The government, however, paid no attention to this document, and the order to join the fleet remained in force. But before Pierre left Venice, another young Frenchman, Balbassare Juven, well born and well educated, the nephew of Marshal Lesdiguières, arrived about the middle of May. He brought with him letters from his uncle recommending him to Leon Bruslart, the French ambassador, from whom he sought an introduction to the Republic, whose service he desired to enter. Bruslart endeavoured to dissuade him, speaking ill of these "*Pantalonì che non meritano pari vostri al loro servizio.*"¹ Juven, however, remained firm, in obedience to his uncle's wish, and continued to negotiate with the Venetian war minister, the Savio alla Scrittura, for a command. He was lodged at the hostelry of the "*Trombetta*," and there he made the acquaintance of Moncassin, who soon began to sound him with a view to enlisting him in the conspiracy. Juven was introduced to Pierre, and eventually agreed to join the conspirators on condition that the whole scheme was unfolded to him, and that he should receive a written statement of their plans, which they called their *capitoli*. Thus fully informed and furnished, Juven, probably because he was a Frenchman and a Huguenot, and therefore a deadly enemy of Spain, resolved to reveal all to the government. Taking Moncassin with him one day to the ducal palace, on the pretext that he wished to speak to the minister of war about his engagement, he led him into the doge's ante-chamber, where were a number of gentlemen, among them Marco Bollani, to whom Juven had already imparted the secret. Moncassin, taking alarm,

¹ Romanin, *op. cit.* vol. vii. p. 155.

said, "What do you want with the doge?" "Oh!" said Juven, "I am just going to ask his leave to blow up the Mint and the arsenal, and to hand Crema to the Spanish." Moncassin turned pale and exclaimed, "Are you going to ruin us all?" But Juven reassured him, and leaving him in charge of Bollani, went in to see the doge, to whom he revealed the matter in outline, saying that Moncassin could fill in the details. Moncassin was then introduced, and finding himself in a desperate plight, consented to make a full confession. He further offered to capture Robert Brouillard with Osuna's correspondence upon him. At first he proposed that Robert should be arrested at the Spanish embassy, but this course was abandoned as too violent and also as involving a breach of the rights of nations. Moncassin then said he would inveigle Brouillard to the house of a woman, where he might be seized. The secretary, however, was on his guard. He had already committed a murder, and refused to venture beyond the asylum of the embassy. It is doubtful whether the Venetians ever obtained any positive proof, under his own or his secretary's hand, of Osuna's complicity in the plot.¹

Pierre, Rossetti, and Langrand had by this time left Venice for their several destinations; but the other conspirators, the brothers Desbouleaux, Berard—the man in charge of the by-plot to hand Crema over to the Spanish—Moncassin himself, and some others still continued to meet to discuss in French the details of their conspiracy. By the help of Moncassin, "a person of quality and of excellent judgment, well versed in the French language and devoted to the State," was secretly introduced and hidden in the place of meeting. There he heard the whole details, and took note of the conspirators.²

¹ See the communication of the Ten to the Senate on Oct. 17, Ranke, *op. cit.* p. 486: "Si offerse moncessino di farci aver detto Roberto nelle forze nostre, anche con lettere e scritture presentate," etc.

² Ranke, *ibid.*

With this final and conclusive evidence in their hands, the government proceeded to act. Orders were sent to the fleet to remove in the most secret and sudden manner both Pierre and Rossetti. They were drowned at once and their papers seized. Similar orders were sent to Zara, where Langrand was shot.¹ The brothers Desbouleaux were just setting out for Naples, as had been arranged by Pierre. They were arrested at Chioggia, and in the fold of their stockings were found letters from Bedmar to Osuna complaining that the favourable moment for carrying out the plot had been allowed to slip; but stating that the bearers, whom he named and recommended to the viceroy, were coming to Naples to arrange for its future execution. Besides Bedmar's letter, there was also one from Robert Brouillard of much the same tenor.² The brothers Desbouleaux and Regnault, who had also been arrested in Venice, were tortured, and confessed. Before execution they asked pardon of the government for their misdeeds. They were strangled in prison, and hung by one foot on gibbets on the Piazza. At the news of their arrest the inns and lodging-houses emptied as by magic. The crowd of adventurers and broken men, many of whom were doubtless aware of the plot, fled for their lives, most of them to Naples, where they were well received by Osuna. This sudden emptying of the city gave rise to sinister rumours that hundreds and hundreds of accomplices had met their death in the prisons of Venice or in the lagoon; but as a matter of fact, the

¹ Consig. di X., Parti Secrete, May 12, 1618.

² Whether letters from Osuna, not merely to him, were discovered is doubtful. The communication of May 19 says: "Che le cose communicate restano comprobate della confessione de' rei in tormentis e da scritture di Osuna e lettere dell' ambasciatore della Cueva" (Ranke, *op. cit.* p. 450, note). The communication of September 26 only mentions letters to Osuna. The informer, Moncassin, declared that he had seen at the Spanish embassy many letters written by Uriva, Osuna's secretary. The Inquisitori wished to have these in their hands, but "per mera disgratia delle cose publiche" they failed.

executions for what we may call the main plot—the plot against Venice itself—were six in all, Jacques Pierre, Rossetti, Langrand, Regnault, and Charles and Jean Desbouleaux; for the by-plot against Crema, Berard or Labarriere, and Forniero; and later on, in December of the same year, Michiel Valenti and Marin Mattei, for an attempt to surprise Pirano, in Istria, an attempt which does not properly belong to the Spanish conspiracy, but rather to Osuna's subsequent prosecution of his designs against Venice, which he by no means abandoned on the failure of Pierre's and Berard's plots.

Thus Venice was "preserved" from what was undoubtedly a serious danger to her independence, however mad and hare-brained the schemes of the chief conspirators may appear to us now. Osuna was extremely annoyed at the discovery of the plot and the executions which followed, though he endeavoured to conceal his feeling. Spinelli, however, reports "that not even his immediate dependents deny that the plot had its origin in Naples."¹ The French ambassador, Leon Bruslart, at once expressed doubts as to the existence of the conspiracy on the ground that it was impossible to believe that half a dozen adventurers would have dreamed of capturing Venice. Bedmar, of course, denied all knowledge of the plot, but his own letters refute him. The course of the narrative, as drawn from authentic documents, leaves no room for doubt. Venice put on record for the future use, not of the public, but of her own government, a concise account² of the whole case as revealed

¹ Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Napoli, July 20, 1618: "Gli istessi dipendenti di Osuna non negano quel trattato dipender da questa parte."

² Senato, Secreta, Communicationi, Oct. 17, 1618: "Perchè potrà per avventura riuscir opportuno il dar alla notitia del governo con maggior pienezza conto delli proditorj concerti," etc. This account sums up and includes the Communications of May 17, 18, 19, July 31, and September 26, all printed in Ranke, *op. cit.* documents i., ii., v., vi., and vii.

by the evidence and by the investigation of the Ten. Now that this account is open to inspection, no point in it is impugned by the circumstances of the conspiracy as laid bare by careful research among other contemporary documents.

In conclusion, we must repeat that there were two aspects of the Spanish Conspiracy: one was Osuna's unconcealed determination to attack Venice in the furtherance of Spanish ambitions in Italy, and directly with a view to assisting the Archduke Ferdinand and to depriving Savoy of her one ally. In pursuit of this policy he resolved to challenge Venetian supremacy in the Gulf. The whole of his action is interesting as a sequela of the conditions produced by the defeat of the Armada, and the appearance of England and the Dutch as sea-powers in the Mediterranean. Osuna's naval policy during his viceroyalties in Sicily and Naples is closely connected with the development of English power in the Mediterranean, and the Spanish Conspiracy takes its place as an episode in the history of that development.¹ On the other hand, there was the internal plot in Venice itself, with its various phases marked by the Spinosa-Grimani affair, the mutiny of the Dutch, the revelations of Juven, and the plot against Crema; and that commands our attention chiefly as a symptom of the social condition of Europe, and as a picturesque, intricate, and terrible episode in the decline of Venice.

¹ See Corbett, *loc. cit.*

Cromwell and the Venetian Republic

THE Spanish Conspiracy in its larger historical aspect was, as we have seen, an episode in the development of English sea-power in the Mediterranean. It was James's determination not to permit the disturbance of the old balance by Osuna's vigorous attack on the Adriatic which caused him to sanction the enlistment of English ships and men for the service of the Republic; it was Spain's dread of seeing the English in force in the Mediterranean which compelled Philip to hamper Osuna by orders to leave the Adriatic alone, and thereby saved Venice from a serious danger. English power in the Mediterranean had grown up in a fortuitous fashion. The seed was sown, the way opened, by Ward and his brother-pirates; James, however, pursued the line of action in a feeble manner, as though he only half perceived the purport of his own policy, and Sir Robert Mansell's operations, though they brought the English officially into the Mediterranean, did not establish English supremacy there.¹ But when the power passed into Cromwell's hands, the English position assumed a very different aspect. Monk's victories over the Dutch and Blake's expedition "to the Straits" proved that England was now the dominant sea-power.

Venice was engaged single-handed against the Turks. The long war of Candia and the heroic efforts of the Venetian admiral, Lazzaro Mocenigo, were commanding the admiration, though not the valid assistance, of Europe, which was entirely absorbed in the struggle

¹ See Corbett, *op. cit.* vol. i. ch. vii. and viii.

between France and Spain. Cromwell, with striking ability, seized the opportunity to slip in between the two contending parties, establish England in the Mediterranean, and prove himself master of both. It was natural, therefore, that Venice, under the pressure of her long and exhausting war with the Turk, should endeavour to secure the support of the new power. The documents¹ with which we shall presently deal show how she attempted this and why she failed.

Venice had always maintained friendly relations with the house of Stuart. On the fall of that house the Republic was in doubt how to act. Though a republic in name, it disliked a republican form of government, and had no confidence that the Parliamentary regime would last. It was, therefore, unwilling to commit itself to any acknowledgment of Parliamentary supremacy.

As we have pointed out in a previous essay, Charles II., when in exile, sent Tom Killigrew to represent him in Venice. The Venetians expected that the Stuarts would soon return to England, and accordingly the resident was received with due honours on February 17, 1650. This action on the part of Venice gave the greatest offence in England, and it subsequently cost the Venetian representative much time and trouble before he could remove the ill effects of the slight put upon Parliament. It was not long, however, before the Venetians discovered that the Stuart cause was still on the wane. The Turkish war was pressing hard upon the Republic, and it resolved to abandon the royal house of England, to make peace, if possible, with the Parliament, and to secure the co-operation of the English fleet against the common foe. The first step towards these objects was to dismiss Killigrew. We have already recounted the amusing details of the resident's expulsion for

¹ Berchet, *Cromwell e la Repubblica di Venezia* (Venezia, Naratovich : 1864). These documents cover the period of English history from the death of Charles I. to the fall of Richard Cromwell.

keeping "a bit of a butcher's shop." Killigrew left Venice in June, 1652. Previous to this, however, the Senate had sent orders to Morosini, the ambassador in Paris, to despatch his secretary, Lorenzo Pauluzzi, to London, to open relations with Parliament, to urge the Levant Company to assist Venice, to raise troops and ships for the Turkish war, and generally to report upon the condition and the prospects of that government. But Pauluzzi was sent without credentials and without any recognized official position. This was an error which cost Venice dear; for Parliament was determined to accept nothing short of a full acknowledgment of its sovereign position. Pauluzzi left Paris for London. The duty of receiving him fell upon Sir Oliver Fleming, master of the ceremonies, a man whom Carlyle has described as "a most gaseous but indisputable historical figure, of uncertain genesis, uncertain habitat, gliding through the old books as master of the ceremonies—master of one knows not what." Pauluzzi seems to have found Sir Oliver solid enough, and certainly quite master of the situation. On May 2, 1652, Pauluzzi reports to Morosini as follows: "I went to Fleming, master of the ceremonies, and began by explaining to him that I was your Excellencies' secretary, sent to England in Venetian interests, to raise ships and men. For that purpose I had desired to be put in communication with some of the gentlemen of Parliament; but, since the forms of the present government did not permit of this, I had come to him to assure him that if the Republic thought that its friendship was desired and would be returned, it would not withhold it. At these words of friendship desired and returned Sir Oliver broke in, 'I beg you not to use such language. This Republic has no need to court the good will of Venice. Let us leave these rigmaroles and formalities, and speak frankly. If you have credentials proving you the accredited minister of the Serene Republic, well and good—you will get what you want. Pray tell me

distinctly ; for if you have I will adopt one tone, if you have not I will adopt another.' I found myself obliged to confess that I had no credentials, as I had only come to raise ships ; but I believed that if credentials were necessary, the Republic would send them to me at once. Sir Oliver then grew very angry, and said, 'I am surprised that you should come here in this fashion even for the object you mention. If I, let us suppose, were to go to Venice in this way, pray tell me, what would the Serene Republic say?' I replied that he would, no doubt, receive every satisfaction, and that I expected the same. Sir Oliver answered, 'I am willing to believe it, and, no doubt, you know better than I do. But I am amazed, and so will Parliament be amazed, all the more as we have frequently been advised that the Serene Republic intended to send a commission to recognize this Republic, and the delay can only proceed from aversion to the present government.' I wished to disabuse him, but he interrupted: 'Well, you have come here to raise ships and men—I believe it ; but perhaps also to play the spy, as a Frenchman did lately. I must tell you that we compelled him to leave the kingdom. Up to the present time the Republic acknowledges a minister of Charles Stuart ; what good can such irresolution do you ? If you want our friendship, we are ready. And now your prudence will tell you how you ought to act.'" With this sharp lesson Pauluzzi was dismissed.

Venice proceeded to repair her mistake. On June 1, 1652, Pauluzzi's credentials, addressed "To the Parliament of England," passed the Senate. But the Republic had to wait seven months before Parliament considered its honour vindicated and consented to acknowledge the representative of Venice. On January 8, 1653, Speaker Lenthal replied, receiving Pauluzzi as agent for the Republic. Meantime Morosini had been removed from Paris, and Giovanni Sagredo filled his place. Sagredo was now Pauluzzi's

immediate master, through whom he communicated with the Senate and received their orders. On May 17 Pauluzzi is instructed to sound the Constituent Convention as to its willingness to send an embassy to Venice should the Republic send one to London. To this an affirmative answer, signed by "E. Montagu, President of the Council of State," came from Whitehall, under date November 25. But before this reciprocal intention could be carried out, Oliver Cromwell had been created protector, and Pauluzzi remained in London in the quality of resident.

Throughout his despatches Pauluzzi is hostile to Cromwell. He announces in these words Cromwell's assumption of the protectorate: "London January 3, 1654. Friday last the general was created protector of the three kingdoms. The Parliamentarians do not cease to bite their nails for having allowed him, step by step, to mount to such a height of authority as renders him odious to the people." On February 21 we have an account of Cromwell's first public appearance after his elevation to the protectorship: "On his appearance not the slightest sound of applause or of satisfaction was heard, nor any blessings on the name and person of the protector. Very different from that which used to happen when the late king appeared in public. In general the protector enjoys but little affection; nay, there are not wanting signs of that hatred against him, which grows daily because, under cloak of humility and care for the nation's and the people's weal, he has arrogated all authority and sovereignty. Only the title of king is wanting, while his actual power certainly exceeds that of the late king. At present, however, though they feel themselves downtrodden, dissatisfied, and deluded, they dare attempt no action; nor do they speak except through their teeth. But every one hopes to see fulfilled some day the prophecy that this government cannot last long." And again, on March 1, he writes: "Every day the ill-humour against the protector and the

disobedience of the troops increase. Cromwell, however, persists in his habitual attitude of humility and retirement. He protests that he is only what they have made him; that he will never be other than they wish him to be. Traits of an insincere humility, under cloak of which he aims, perhaps, at glory greater than his present; and on this ground his headlong fall is continually foretold and desired. But he will save himself with all the greater astuteness that he knows it to be the general expectation and desire."

Pauluzzi had already had an audience of Cromwell on January 29, which he thus describes: "The day before yesterday was appointed for my audience. I was received with the same ceremonial as that observed towards other ministers. I was met by Sir Oliver Fleming, and conducted to his Highness, whom I found in a chamber surrounded by twenty gentlemen, arranged on either side, and Cromwell in the middle. On my appearance in the chamber he uncovered, and remained so till I began to speak. He uncovered again at every act of reverence I made when naming the most Serene Republic. I expressed myself as follows: congratulating the protector on his elevation, assuring him of the good will of Venice, and begging his aid against the Turks. He remained attentive to all I said, without interrupting me; and Sir Oliver translated the whole into English. Cromwell replied in the following terms, translated into Italian by Sir Oliver, expressing his good will towards Venice; declaring that he had every desire to assist the Republic, which he considered the buckler of religion against its most powerful foe. I bowed at these expressions, and promised to report them to my government; and with that I took my leave, accompanied by Sir Oliver to my carriage, as is the etiquette adopted towards all who are recognized as representatives of their princes and masters."

In August of the same year, Pauluzzi again had an

audience of the Protector, in order to present letters of congratulation from the Senate. He was treated with greater ceremony on this occasion, having the compliment of a guard of honour of one hundred halberdiers of the Protector's household troops. Pauluzzi again raised the question of assistance against the Turk. Cromwell replied that he always admired the courage of the Republic; he would inform Pauluzzi, later on, of his decision in the matter. In January of the following year (1655) the Senate write to Sagredo that they can no longer delay the despatch of an embassy to England. They were anxious to clinch what appeared to be a favourable disposition on the part of Cromwell. The ambassador is to receive six hundred gold ducats a month as salary; four months paid in advance, and no obligation to render accounts; a present of one thousand five hundred gold ducats for outfit; three hundred Venetian ducats for horses, boxes, rugs; three hundred for vails, of which account is to be rendered. He is to take a secretary at twenty-five ducats a month, and one hundred ducats advanced; two couriers at thirty ducats each, as usual; an interpreter and a chaplain at ten scudi a month, as usual. On June 5 Sagredo himself was elected for the English embassy, and received his credentials. Sagredo endeavoured to excuse himself on the ground that he was already nearly ruined by the expenses of his embassy at Paris; but the Senate declined to relieve him of his duties. Sagredo accordingly began preparations for his new mission. His carriage alone cost him one thousand five hundred crowns, and his liveries as much again. On September 1 he left Paris with a large suite, including, over and above his embassy staff, five Venetian noblemen and their servants. Cromwell was pleased at this mark of attention on the part of the Republic, and showed his sense of the compliment by sending a man-of-war to meet Sagredo at Dieppe, which the ambassador had chosen as the point of

embarkation in preference to Calais, owing to the frequent robberies committed by the garrisons of Gravelines and Dunkerque. Sagredo was much impressed by the size and strength of this man-of-war, and wrote to the Senate, "If your Serenity had twelve such ships, no power in the world could resist the onset. It has seven hundred men and one hundred guns." The ship crossed the Channel to Dungeness in seven hours, and landed the ambassador in England. His public entry took place by water. The grand master of the ceremonies, accompanied by thirty gentlemen and the protector's trumpeters, came to meet him, "in sixteen feluccas," at Greenwich, whence, after a sumptuous repast, they conducted him to the Tower. At the Tower the Protector's carriage was waiting him; and, followed by five other carriages and a guard of fifty horse, he was conducted to the lodgings reserved for ambassadors and other distinguished foreigners.

Sagredo sent the Senate an account of his first audience in these terms: "On the fourth day after my public entry I was informed that, owing to the colic which had attacked his Highness, my audience was to be postponed for three days. Cromwell sent the master of the ceremonies to assure me of the regret which he felt at this delay, and to inform me that, notwithstanding the sickness which confined him to bed, he would rise on purpose to receive me, if I thought it necessary. I did not fail to thank his Highness for such obliging expressions, and added that his well-being was too valuable to be exposed to any imaginable risk; that I would await his recovery, nothing complaining of this delay if it were employed in restoring his health.

"Three days later, he sent his carriages and two councillors of state to my lodging to fetch me. I was conducted to Whitehall, that is, the palace of the late king. On my entering the great royal hall, hung with the richest tapestry and crowded with people,

Cromwell took two short steps towards me. He begged me to be covered, and I then expressed myself as follows: that the Republic, wishing still further to mark their regard for the protector, had sent me as special envoy to repeat to him what Pauluzzi had already communicated. Cromwell replied, thanking the Republic, and declaring that their ambassador should receive the same treatment as that accorded to the representatives of other crowned heads. On my withdrawing, he again took two short steps towards me, hat in hand. I found him somewhat pulled down, with signs of a health not absolutely and entirely established, for I noticed that while he remained uncovered, the hand which held his hat trembled. For the rest, he is a man of fifty-six years; a thin beard; a full habit; short, robust and martial in appearance. His countenance is dark and profound; he carries a large sword by his side. Soldier as well as orator, he is gifted with talents to persuade and to act."

Sagredo's next despatches, dated November 5, 6, and 12, 1655, dwell upon the difficulties he encountered in securing the object of his mission, Cromwell's aid against the Turk: "The protector, in order to maintain the credit of his arms, and to justify his heavy taxation, has resolved to attack either Turkey or the West Indies. Various considerations incline him to the latter. I shall do all I can to induce him to attack the Turk, but there are two grave obstacles. The first is the Spanish war; the second, the Turkey merchants, who form the most powerful party in the city, and who fear the sequestration of their wealth in the Levant. His Highness sent me last week a pamphlet setting forth the reasons which oblige England to go to war with Spain. The conjuncture is little favourable to my designs. I resolved, however, to neglect no efforts which might conduce to the public benefit. I demanded an audience of his Highness, which was

granted me in his private cabinet. He met me in the middle of the room, and on my departure he accompanied me to the door. My interview had for object to win him round by playing on his religious feelings, which he displays with all palpable demonstrations of zeal, even going so far as to preach every Sunday to the soldiers, exhorting them to live godly lives. And this preaching he accompanies not merely with efficacious persuasions, but also with tears, which he holds ready at a moment's notice. By these means he excites and controls the spirit of the troops at his pleasure. In the second place, I did not fail to ply him with the stimulus of glory and fame, as follows: 'I am instructed to remind your Highness that Venice has now for eleven years been the buckler of all Christendom against the Turk. These barbarians are preparing to complete the conquest of Candia, the outwork of Italy. The zeal your Highness has for the Christian faith, that piety and religion which are the noble ornaments of your generous spirit, will surely set on fire the sacred flame of your great courage, and put a keen edge on your valorous sword, which cannot be drawn in a more glorious cause than the cause of the gospel.' To this Cromwell replied that the generous and constant defence offered by Venice against the common foe laid every Christian prince under obligations to your Serenity; that he had frequently felt the pricks and goads of zeal for the service of God; that it would have been better had I come to this court earlier—I should then have found the conjuncture favourable to my wishes; that he would take the opinion of his council. He personally was much disposed to all that might profit your Serenity, for whom he entertained a particular esteem."

These negotiations, however, produced no fruit. The insuperable difficulties in the way were, first, the opposition of the Levant Company, which feared that assistance to Venice and war with the Turk

would ruin its Turkish trade ; and, secondly, the fact that Cromwell had already made up his mind to a West Indian expedition. Sagredo, perceiving that he could make no way with the purpose of his mission, demanded his recall. The Senate granted his request, and he left England on February 18, 1656, in the middle of a violent snowstorm, having spent five months in London. He left his secretary, Francesco Giavarina, behind him as resident for the Republic.

On his return to Venice, Sagredo, according to custom, read, in the Senate, an account of his embassy. This *relazione* is so interesting in itself, as a fine specimen of these Venetian reports, and contains so curious though partial a view of the great rebellion and the protectorate as observed by a foreign ambassador, that we shall venture to give it almost *in extenso*.

" MOST SERENE PRINCE,

"The position, size, and population of England, Scotland, and Ireland are so well known to you, from books and from the reports of previous ambassadors to that court, that it would be superfluous and tedious to recite them here.

"I, Giovanni Sagredo, knight, find it more opportune that I, as your first ambassador to London after the downfall of the royal house, should give you a distinct account of how the civil war began, of the causes of that change of government, of the character of the man who at present directs and commands, of the forces and the alliances of England, and of the designs she now entertains.

"For an uninterrupted period of fifteen years that kingdom has been tossed on the troublous sea of civil war, whereon at last the royal authority made lamentable and disastrous shipwreck.

"The causes of this shipwreck are various ; and perhaps the essential causes are not those which live

in the mouth of the vulgar and by the notoriety of common report.

“The hatred against Charles I. of England was augmented by a certain instability in religious matters, an instability which he clearly proved by professing himself first Calvinist, then Lutheran, and finally by his passionate endeavours to render the ceremonies of the Protestant Church as similar as possible to those of Catholicism. His subjects, who had imbibed from their ministers an implacable aversion to the Catholic faith, hated him for this policy, which proved him entirely Catholic at heart. It is true, however, that his Majesty on the scaffold, guided by a diabolical desire to prove the injustice of his condemnation, publicly professed the dogmas of Protestantism, and, to the damnation of his own soul, endeavoured to give the lie to the rumour that he leaned towards the Catholic faith. We must add, as no unimportant agent in his ruin, that he lacked the spirit to govern by himself, and availed himself of ministers whose wits were slow and heavy, such as Lord Holland, or of austere prelates like the Bishop of Canterbury, who desired to govern London as though it had been a college or a religious house.

“His Majesty was gifted with a placid nature, infinite goodness, and incomparable sincerity, and his breast, as though it had been made of crystal, allowed all his most secret thoughts to shine through ; so that his Scotch servants, by whom he was surrounded, treacherously published his most intimate intentions, and made service to him impossible by giving his foes the opportunity to traverse his designs.

“That he did not, at the outset, present a bold front to Parliament contributed much to his misfortunes. He suffered meetings and assemblies where, under cloak of urgent reforms, the royal prerogative was attacked, and the first seeds of revolution were sown.

“The Parliament, perceiving the occasion favourable to its designs, grew in courage and audacity as

the king's council showed itself lacking in credit and esteem. And, as frequently happens in civil convulsions, the first movements of Parliament were received with approval by those who love to fish in troubled waters, and think to better their own fortunes by the misfortunes of their country.

"Matters having come to an open rupture, and to the arbitrament of arms, the Earl of Essex was the first who took the field against the king. In the opening encounter Essex was so thoroughly crushed and defeated, that eight thousand Parliamentarians yielded themselves prisoners to the king; among them many of his bitterest foes. But the king, always prone to clemency, and neglecting the sound advice to make a summary and deserved example of these men, let them all go free upon their oath not to bear arms against him again.

"Fairfax, successor of Essex, who had been poisoned by the Parliamentarians on suspicion of his personal ambition, defeated the royal troops twice; and, after various reverses, the king resolved to place himself in the hands of the Scotch, in the hope that, as he was their countryman, they would espouse his just cause. But the Scotch, who had already ruined his Majesty by selling his secrets, now actually sold the king himself to the Parliament for two hundred thousand pounds sterling. His Majesty was closely guarded by the Scotch in a certain castle; and being asked by them whether he preferred to stay where he was or to be consigned to the English, he replied that he would rather be in the hands of those who had bought than of those who had sold him.

"When they had the king in their power the Parliamentarians deliberated long. The more moderate were of opinion that, when abuses had been reformed and pledges taken, the king should be restored to authority. Others, and among them Cromwell, who was then second in command and who enjoyed the highest esteem, represented that affairs were already

reduced to extremities, admitting no adjustment and no compromise; that the hatred between the king and Parliament was too deeply rooted, and mutual injuries too far advanced, to allow of retreat; that the king restored would take revenge; that those who feared to smite a crowned head would find a hundred of their own heads smitten in its place; that the safety of Parliament must be weighed against the safety of the king; and, in short, that, holding the king a prisoner, they should proceed to condemn him as a criminal. This opinion, which gave security to guilty consciences, met with approval; and Charles I., King of England, was condemned to be publicly executed.

"The charges against him turned on his share in the late disturbances; on his subservience to vicious and greedy favourites; and on the sufferings of the people during the civil war.

"The scaffold was raised level with a window of the palace, and hung with black velvet. And because they were afraid that his Majesty might resist the execution of the sentence, and refuse to lay his neck on the block, two iron rings were fastened to the foot of the scaffold, through which a cord was passed to be placed round his Majesty's neck, and so to compel him by force to extend his neck to the axe should he refuse to bow to the fatal blow.

"But the king, warned in time, without coming to these extremes, begged that no violence might be used, as he would of his own accord yield to the law of necessity and the rigour of force. He died with constancy on January 30, 1648,¹ amid universal silence and amazement; for, owing to the strong detachments of troops posted in various parts, no one dared to show his sorrow except in his heart of hearts. So he died; an example without example which struck pity not only among men, but also among the very beasts. For an old lion, who still lives in the Tower of

¹ More Veneto

London, showed his emotion by fierce roars, not only on the day of the execution, but even now, every year on the anniversary of the same, to the wonder and observation of all people.

"London was the chief and the most obstinate centre of the war. The people advanced from their private purses untold treasures for the maintenance of their army. The goldsmiths alone are still creditors for eight hundred thousand crowns.

"Fairfax, who was at that time in supreme command, was unwilling to sign the death-warrant. He gave a forced consent, however, when urged by Cromwell, who brought him the order from Parliament. Fairfax also refused to advance against the Scots, as that would have been a violation of treaty. Parliament compelled him to resign his baton to Cromwell, his lieutenant. Cromwell, though then only second in titular command, was in every way supreme in authority. For Fairfax was a practical soldier only, whose sword was his sole resource; while Cromwell knew how to use his sword and his tongue equally well, and to such purpose that, after unhorsing his own general, he also unseated Parliament, though it had been the chief cause of his aggrandizement. They say that Cromwell, foreseeing that the supreme power must one day fall into his hands owing to the weakness of others and his own ability, insisted that the execution of the king should follow an Act of Parliament—that is, a decree of the people—in order that the breach between the people and the king's descendants might become impassable. And to render any return of the royal family all the more difficult, the royal property, to the amount of eight hundred thousand crowns of income, was sold, along with the furnishings of the king's wardrobe, which was put up to auction.

"As upon the wreck of some fallen palace we may see another and more magnificent edifice arise, so upon the ruins of the royal house Cromwell piled

up the portentous splendour of his fortunes, until he reached that culminating point where he now stands. And, because all subsequent events of moment are either the result of his councils or the fruit of his actions, my report will now deal with nothing but the deeds of this man, who has become, through his fortune and his ability, the most famous figure of our day.

“On the fall of the royal authority all government and the entire control of public affairs passed into the hands of Parliament. Although Cromwell had only one vote, yet, as representative of the army, his opinion was venerated and supported by the majority. We must remember that Parliament was deliberative, the army executive.

“Cromwell’s success in Ireland, and his personal courage there, rendered him all the more powerful. The reduction of Scotland, accomplished with only nine thousand men, added to his renown. Before going into battle, he encouraged his troops by telling them that God had assured him of victory by a voice which spoke to him in the midnight; and such was the confidence which his soldiers had in him, that their attack was irresistible. The Scotch broke, and there was not a man of the English army who did not bring in a prisoner apiece.

“Civil war being thus ended, a foreign war with Holland followed, on the question of the herring fisheries.

“The navies of former days were far inferior in tonnage and in guns to those of to-day, and so one may say without exaggeration that the ocean never saw more formidable armaments nor more bloody battles between two nations braver or more ferocious. As many as three hundred ships, English and Dutch, took the sea, and with such a letting of blood that many times the very waves have blushed for the shame of such cruel slaughter.

“The Dutch have received a heavy blow. They

have spent more in two years' war with England than in one hundred with Spain. Their disadvantages fall under three heads.

"First, their merchant navy is out of all proportion to their fleet. Secondly, they have no bronze cannon, in which the English are well found. The English range and weight being superior, they disable the enemy before coming to close quarters.

"The third and most notable disadvantage is that the English intelligences are so good, that at the very outbreak of the war they were able to seize Dutch shipping in various waters; and in this way one may say that the Dutch have indemnified England for the expenses of the war.

"Parliament taxed the nation heavily for the maintenance of the fleet. This rendered it odious to the people. Cromwell fomented the disgust. Questions between the Parliament and the army began to arise. The army refused to submit to reforms which would weaken its power. Cromwell, foreseeing an attack on himself, with masculine resolution, placed guards at the strategical points of the city, and entering Parliament, accompanied by a few officers, said, 'You have too long sucked the purest blood from English veins; the nation is weary of suffering the ruinous consequences of your misgovernment; you have overplayed the prince, a *rôle* that does not belong to you; now, stripped of the royal mantle and kingly authority, get you about your business; the comedy is over.'

"The members, in amazement, kept silence; but the Speaker demanded by what authority Cromwell dared to sack Parliament. Then Cromwell, showing his sword, replied that his authority lay there. He drove the Speaker from his seat, removed the mace, and the other members, in terror and confusion, went their ways.

"This change of government took place without any rising. Those who pitied the king rejoiced to

see the authors of his disasters humiliated. The people applauded the vigour of Cromwell, whose authority and prestige served to justify his acts.

"The Dutch war continued; but after the fierce battle in which Tromp was killed, peace was concluded upon terms most advantageous to England. By this peace Cromwell became yet more respected and feared. He summoned two other Parliaments, but these proving restive under his orders were presently dissolved. Cromwell was unwilling any longer to submit his towering and dominating prosperity to public criticism. He accordingly established the military government which now exists. He caused himself to be proclaimed protector of the three kingdoms, with the council, which he retained in order to preserve the fiction of a republic, and to lessen the odium which his despotic government creates. He has declined the crown; for, after overthrowing the royal dignity, it would have been a too naked display of hypocrisy to place the crown on his own head. Cromwell cares nothing for a name. He is content with his authority and power, beyond all comparison greater, not only than that of any king who ever reigned in England, but than that of any monarch who wields a sceptre in the world just now.

"The fundamental laws of the nation are upset, and Cromwell is the sole legislator. His laws are dictated by his own judgment and his own desires. All offices issue from his hands. The members of the council must be nominated by him; nor can they rise to power except through him; and, that no one may become master of the army, he has left the office of lieutenant-general vacant.

"As for his wealth, no king ever raised so much from his subjects. England pays at present one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling a month in burdens; besides this, the duty of five per cent. on all merchandise sold or bought in a city of

such flourishing commerce as London amounts to three million two hundred thousand crowns a year ; add to this the dues on export and import for the whole kingdom, and the confiscations of private fortunes, such as the Duke of Buckingham's, which amount to an enormous sum—for the revenue of the English nobility exceeds that of any other nobility. The Catholics, on a payment of two-thirds of their income, are permitted to continue in the exercise of their creed. In spite of all this wealth the protector is not rich. His expenditure exceeds his income. There are twelve millions a year for the armament ; for Cromwell is obliged to support those who supported him. At the beginning of the civil war the pay of the Parliamentary troops and sailors was increased, in order to entice the king's forces away from him. But the durability of a government founded on force depends upon the troops ; it is therefore necessary to pay the soldiers punctually to avoid revolt. The army is well fed and clad, but rigorously disciplined. Neglect of duty is punished by the rod ; for an ordinary oath, instant cashiering ; for excesses, imprisonment, and sometimes hanging. Promotion by merit, not by seniority, causes complaints against the government. These are reported to the protector by his numerous spies. He purifies the army by sending mutinous troops to the Indies, or to the extreme parts of the kingdom ; by these purgatives he cures the disease, and prevents it from increasing and infecting the principal members.

“It is a remarkable point among the maxims of his supersubtle policy, that, knowing he could not rely on the aristocracy, he began to raise to the highest commands in the army people of low degree, on purpose that they, seeing their whole fortunes to depend on him, might be bound to support his pre-eminence. This policy, which has welded the existence of the protector and of the army in indissoluble bonds, leaves but faint hopes that the King

of Scotland will ever be able to untie and dissolve a union based upon such reciprocal interests. It is certain that the troops live with as much regularity as a religious body. It was observed during the late war that when the king's soldiers gained a victory, they abandoned themselves to wine and debauchery; those commanded by Cromwell were compelled, after their greatest successes, to pray and fast.

"And here I must touch upon Cromwell's religion. He makes no regular external professions, and so it is impossible to know what rite he follows. In the late civil war he professed himself an Anabaptist. This is a sect which abhors princedom and pretends to hold off God alone. Cromwell, immediately on his elevation to the command, not only separated from the Anabaptists, or Independents, but disavowed and persecuted them. Guided by interests of state he changes his religion. He hold that it comports with his policy that in London they profess two hundred and forty-six religions, all united in alienation from the pontiff, but among themselves very dissimilar and antagonistic. The disunion of so many various sects renders them all weak, and none can waken his apprehension.

"If at this point I were to represent to your Excellencies the dissonance and variation of these sects, I should waste much time and merely stir your pity and your smiles. Near my house there lived a noble lord with six grown sons, all of different religions; they were always in disputes perpetual and infinite, and sometimes came to blows, so that their father's whole time was employed and embarrassed in separating and pacifying them.

"Cromwell, in short, is master of the most beautiful island in the world, of great circumference and width, abounding in men, and so happy in its fertility that in the most rigid winter season the animals always find green pastures; where, though the land produce no wine, one drinks better than in viniferous coun-

tries; for the wine acquires strength and flavour on its journey, and by its passage over sea.

"What the land produces not is nevertheless abundant; it is drawn thither by the copious and flourishing commerce of London—a city which yields not to Paris in population, in the wealth of its merchants, in extent, and, above all, in its convenience to the sea, which wafts in such abundance of shipping that, on my arrival, I counted more than two thousand sail upon the famous river Thames.

"And yet it is true that, after the change of government, the glory and the grandeur of London have altered much. For the most illustrious nobility which gathered there and made it brilliant is now crushed and mortified and scattered over the country. And the delights of the court, the gayest and most sumptuous in the world, is changed now to a perpetual marching and countermarching of troops, an incessant noise of drums and trumpets, and a long train of officers and soldiers at their posts.

"The government knows that it possesses a kingdom separated from the rest of the world—a kingdom that fears not invasion, and needs no foreign support, for it has abundant forces to protect itself and to cause alarm in others with its fleet of choice ships that hold the sea in obedience and give the law wherever they pass.

"And foreign powers are held of so much the less account that they have vied with one another in open demonstrations of respect and esteem for the man who now rules England.

"In short, I can assure your Serenity that England fears no other power; nay, she claims to waken fear in them. And therefore they receive without returning embassies, as do the Turks; nor do they seek alliances, but expect to be sought.

"As regards your Serenity, I am bound to report with frankness events as they occurred; and I say that the despatch of Pauluzzi without credentials was

taken ill. For this reason they refused him audience for seven months, nor would they ever have granted it had not credentials been given him in quality of resident.

"Then the tardy despatch of an ambassador extraordinary was taken in bad part; for Venice was the last of all the powers to send one. It was openly said that the Senate entertained an aversion to this form of government, and stigmatized it as illegitimate. It cost me some pains, before my arrival, to remove this suspicion. I succeeded in convincing his Highness that the despatch of an embassy to him, when none had been sent to Parliament, was a sign of peculiar respect for his person and rank. This argument made a breach in his mind. He sent a man-of-war to France for me, and I was received with all the distinctions and prerogatives in use towards other ambassadors. When the French and Spanish ambassadors left London my chapel was crowded with Catholics. The ministers objected, but Cromwell refused to interfere with my liberty.

"I reached England at a moment unfortunate for the object of my mission, when the West Indian campaign was already resolved upon. It is true, moreover, that the Levant Company—that is to say, the wealthiest Turkey merchants—watched my negotiations jealously. They insisted that, as the company had four millions of capital in Turkish ports, the slightest suspicion would suffice to induce the Turk to confiscate it, as had lately happened in Spain.

"Having now succinctly reported the changes, the forces, alliances, designs, and form of the English government, I must return to certain particulars about Cromwell, who has become so conspicuous and so famous throughout the world.

"Certain it is that history will have to dwell at length on all that I have compressed into this compendium, and that Cromwell must be considered as

a pet of Fortune's partiality. It is impossible to deny that by his genius and activity he has contributed to his own glory. But although he is rich in courage, wit, and natural prudence, all those parts would have served him nothing had he lacked the opportunity to become great. He made use of his talents and he seized the occasion.

"Born at Huntingdon of a father whose blood was noble, but whose fortune was less than moderate, Cromwell was first a cornet, then a captain in the cavalry. Cambridge elected him as its member and sent him to Parliament.

"He is a man of the sword as well as of the tongue, and hence it is that he has climbed by such great strides. He rose to be colonel, sergeant-general, lieutenant-general, and finally general of the whole army. Favoured by Fortune in many a battle, he proved himself a man of iron courage and fearless in the sharpest and most dangerous encounters.

"When he was general, two thousand sailors mutinied and betook themselves to his house, demanding their pay. He heard the noise, and went downstairs with four officers who were dining with him. He thrust himself into the crowd, sword in hand, killed one and mortally wounded another, with such speed and dexterity that the rest, terrified at this example and overawed by their veneration for his person, fled to their ships.

"Outwardly religious in the extreme, he preaches with eloquence to the soldiers, exhorting them to live according to the law of God ; and, to render his persuasions more efficacious, he often makes use of tears, weeping more for the sins of others than for his own. He is a man of a solid and massive judgment ; and he knows the character of the English as a horseman knows the horses of his *manège*, and so with the lightest touch of his whip he guides them whither he will.

"He is not severe except with those of the opposite

party; courteous and civil to his own, and liberal in rewards to those who have served him well.

"For the rest, in general he is more feared than loved—mortally hated by the Royalists, who are no small body, but who are powerless, being spoiled of wealth and arms.

"His pleasure is to ride often in his coach to Hampton Court, a country house of the late king. He never shows himself in London because of the accident which happened to him there when he was going to the city to take the protectorate. A large stone was thrown from a window and fell on the top of his carriage, breaking it in and passing close to his head. In spite of every effort the author was never discovered.

"He lives in perpetual suspicion. The smallest gathering of men rouses his apprehension; and therefore plays, horse-races, and all recreations which might collect a crowd, are forbidden. At the public audience, which is open to all, I have seen, at various doors, officers of the guard with drawn swords in their hands.

"They say he never sleeps twice in the same room, and often changes his bed for fear of some mine. Some have even been discovered. It is true, however, that the government often invents conspiracies to afford a pretext against the Royalists, and therefore to increase the army and the guards.

"Cromwell is deeply mortified that he has no children of spirit and intelligence. His two sons lack the vigour of their father, and therefore he takes no pains to make his greatness hereditary; being sure the edifice must fall when it has such weak supports as these two sons of tardy and heavy intellect.

"The first man in the army is Sergeant-General Lambert. They say that in his heart he does not love Cromwell, though outwardly he professes the closest union with him. In any case, no one is more

able than Lambert to cause a change and form a party.

“Whether the present government will last long is a difficult question. It is likely, however, that after the death of Cromwell we may see some change of scene, in accordance with the universal law that violence can never endure.”

Giavarina, late secretary to the embassy, remained in London as Venetian resident at the protector's court. His instructions were to urge, upon every possible occasion, the advisability of assisting the Venetians against the Turks. This he did, but without success. On the death of Cromwell, Giavarina conveyed the condolences of the Senate to his son Richard. Giavarina was treated with all ceremonious respect. Five court carriages, drawn by six horses each, were sent to take him to Whitehall. Richard Cromwell held out every prospect of being willing to satisfy the Venetians' request. But Giavarina warned his government not to place much reliance on these promises, which he considered were made more with a view to induce the Republic to acknowledge Cromwell by the despatch of a special envoy, than with any idea of their actual fulfilment. Giavarina's residence in London was not more pleasant than it was profitable. He found himself in difficulties on account of the asylum and shelter which he gave at the residency to twenty Catholic priests, whom the Spanish ambassador had left behind him when he was recalled. Giavarina was still further embarrassed by the superior place assigned to the legate of Brandenburg at court ceremonies. He considered it his duty to absent himself on this ground from the festivities attending the confirmation of Richard Cromwell as protector. The Senate, however, disapproved his conduct, and even proposed to recall him from his post. Nor were these the only troubles which Giavarina had to endure. The Senate paid him very

poorly and very irregularly; the expenses of the residency were heavy; he found himself overwhelmed with debt; and, to put a crown to his misfortunes, on the night of October 18, 1657, the residency was broken into by twelve thieves, who bound and beat the resident, and, as he says himself, "robbed me of everything, even my hat; the public ciphers and despatches alone escaping by a miracle."

But better days were in store for Giavarina. The protectorate fell, the Stuarts were restored, and the Venetian resident had the honour to be the first foreign representative to welcome Charles at Canterbury the day after his landing in England.

INDEX

- Aali, the historian, ii. 135
 Abano, baths of, i. 186
 Adda river, i. 2 *note*, 187
 Adrian, Pope, i. 15
 Adrianople, ii. 9; treaty at, 3
 Agna, castle of, i. 116
 Agostino, Church of Sant', i. 48
 note
 — Girolamo, i. 323
 Albergati, Niccolò, Cardinal of
 Santa Croce, i. 184
 Albèri, Signor, *Relazioni degli*
 Ambasciatori Veneti, i. 321,
 ii. 2 *note*
 Albiola, i. 40
 Alençon, Philip d', Patriarch of
 Aquilaia, i. 132
 Alessio, ii. 9
 "Alethophilus, Cristianus,"
 Artes Jesuiticæ, i. 219
 Alexander VI., Pope, account
 of his death by poison, i. 244;
 attempt on his life, 250;
 extract from his Bull *Inter*
 Multiplices, ii. 41, 45, 59
 Aliprandi, Giovanni degli, i. 177
 Almeda, castle of, ii. 253
 Altichiero, 48 *note*
 Amalfi, i. 11
 Ambassadors, their reception in
 Venice, i. 329; ceremonies,
 330-2; privileges, 332
 Anafesto, Luccio Paolo, elected
 the first Doge of Venice, i.
 20
 Andosiglia, the legation spy,
 ii. 278, 280
 Andrea, or "the Cripple," ii.
 279; employed to strangle
 Spinosa, 280
 Andros, i. 50
 Angeli, ii. 136
 Anghiari, victory of, i. 177
Anima d'oro, supposed dis-
 covery of, ii. 187
 Anjou, Louis of, i. 172
 Antonino, castle of S., siege,
 i. 165
 Anzoli, Alvise de', ii. 106
 — Francesco de', ii. 106
 Apennines, crossing the, ii. 123
 Apulia, ii. 27; expedition to,
 i. 171
 Aquileia, i. 18; patriarchate of,
 132
 Aquinas, St. Thomas, extract
 from his *Summa* on assassina-
 tions, i. 218; on the supre-
 macy of the Church over the
 State, ii. 227
 Aragon, Alfonso of, i. 171
 Arbedo, victory of, i. 170
 Arcelli, Filippo of Piacenza, i.
 164; attack on, 165; sur-
 renders, 165
 — Margherita, i. 167
 Archipelago, islands of the,
 conceded to Venice, i. 50
 Archive or Record Office, ii.
 147; characteristics of study
 in, 149-51
 Arcimboldi, Archbishop of
 Milan, his Catalogue, ii. 67
 Aretino, Pietro, i. 257, ii. 93,
 100
 Armada, defeat of, i. 352, ii. 53

- Armingaud, *Venise et le Bas Empire*, i. 10 *note*
 Arquà, i. 129
 Arso (Larissa), ii. 10
 Arundel, Lady, ii. 262
 Ascoli, Cardinal of, ii. 75
 Asolo, i. 271, 285; occupied, 292
 Assassinations in Italy, i. 217; views on, 218; executionary, 219; private, 220; tyrannicide, 220-3; political, 223-33; tenders for, 235-7; typical cases in Venice, 234; quality and number of assassins, 237
 Asti, i. 136
 Astolfo, King of the Lombards, i. 14
 Attila, his invasion of Venice, i. 1
 Austria, Leopold, Duke of, i. 131, 143; taken prisoner, 144
 — Rudolf, Duke of, war with Francesco Carrara, i. 125; repulsed at Trieste, 126
 Aversa, ii. 276
 Avignon, i. 137; embassy to, 86
 Avogadro, Pietro, i. 180
 Azzari, *Storia di Milano*, i. 109 *note*
 Azzoni, Count Avogadro degli, i. 272
 Bacchiglione, i. 19, 126
 Bacon, Sir Francis, his view on censorship of the press, ii. 42, 49
 Badoer, Badoer, i. 71
 Bailo, or agent-in-ordinary at Constantinople, ii. 2; his position, 4; election, 6; salary, 6; instructions, 7; staff, 7; household, 7; suite, 8; choice of a route, 8; official robes, 15; ceremonial, 15; banquet, 16, 19; attends the divan, 17-9; received by the Sultan, 20; his duties, 21; consular duties, 24; judicial, 28; acts as postmaster, 32; difficulties of his position, 34-7
 Bajazet II., Sultan, i. 281
 Baldus, his view of assassination, i. 218
 Barbarigo, Jacopo, i. 189
 — Ottavio, ii. 156
 Barbaro, Daniele, i. 84; on the censorship of the press, ii. 44; his opinion of the Pauline Index, 72
 — Francesco, ii. 17
 — Giosafat, i. 274 *note*
 Barberius, John, of Padua, i. 235
 Barbiano, Alberico da, i. 156
 — General, i. 147
 Bari, i. 11
 Baronius, Cardinal, ii. 49
 — *Annales Eccles.*, i. 28 *note*, 29 *note*
 Barozzi, Signor, i. 321
 Barton, Edward, case of, ii. 5 *note*, 29
 Baschet, M., *Les Archives de Venise*, i. 77 *note*, 293 *note*, 296; on the receptions of the French ambassadors in Venice, 328
 Basil I., Emperor, i. 5; legend of, 9; founds the dynasty, 10
 Bassano, i. 115, 119, 285, ii. 117
 Basso, San, i. 149
 Battistella, Signor, *Il Conte Carmagnola*, 158 *note*, 209, 212 *et seq.*
 Bavaria, Duke of, receives Bragadin, ii. 203; his treatment of him, 204-6
 — Stephen, Elector of, joins the league against Visconti, i. 140
 Beato, taken hostage, i. 36
 Beccadello, Padre, ii. 117, 123
 Beccaria, Castellino, slaughter of, i. 167
 Bedmar, Alfonso della Queva, Marquis of, Spanish ambassador in Venice, ii. 247; his relations with Osuna, 274

- Bellarmino, Cardinal, his relations with Sarpi, ii. 211
- Bellini, Gentile, his portraits of Caterina Cornaro, i. 270, 271
- Bellinzona, i. 169
- Bellona, Madalena, ii. 269, 275; arrested, 276
- Belluno, i. 115, 119, 125, 131
- John, Bishop of, i. 340
- Bembo, Doge Giovanni, his death, ii. 246 *note*
- Marco, murdered, i. 274
- Pietro, on the court of Caterina Cornaro at Asolo, i. 287
- Beneventum, i. 11, 16
- Benveniste, the Jew, ii. 136
- Berchet, Signor, i. 321; *Cromwell e la Repubblica di Venezia*, ii. 297 *note*
- Bergamo, i. 163; bombardment of, 166
- Bernardo, Lorenzo, ii. 22, 35; his despatch to the doge, 152-4
- Bernerio, Fra Girolamo, ii. 210
- Bevilaqua, Matteo, i. 240
- Bibiones, i. 18 *note*
- Binde, Antonio dalle, i. 94
- Bini, Alvise, ii. 106
- Benedetto, ii. 106
- Giovanni Pietro, ii. 106
- Lucrezia, her marriage, ii. 106; will, 106. *See* Gioliti
- Bobbio, occupied, i. 163
- Bocconio, Marco, organizes a revolt, i. 66; seized and executed, 67
- Boemond of Brienne, i. 69
- Bohemia, John of, i. 114
- Bolani, Pietro, arrested, i. 91
- Boldrino, Bishop, ii. 210
- Bollani, Marco, ii. 291
- Bologna, i. 140, ii. 119, 123, 124; siege of, i. 144; settlement at, ii. 34
- Bon, Ambassador, ii. 269
- Filippo, ii. 33
- Jerome, on the death of Leo X., i. 247
- Bongi, Signor Salvatore, *Annali di Gabriele Gioliti de Ferrari*, ii. 88 *note*, 106
- Boniface VIII., Pope, ii. 229
- Book trade of Venice, ii. 39; erected into a guild, 78; result of the Tridentine Index, 81; protest, 83
- Bordelano, i. 200
- Borghese, Camillo, ii. 235. *See* Paul V.
- Borgia, Cardinal, ii. 280
- Lucrezia, Duchess of Ferrara, i. 285
- Borromeo, Carlo, ii. 210
- Bosco, Villa del, i. 116
- Boselli, *Storia Piacentina*, i. 168 *note*
- Bosphorus, ii. 15
- Bossio, Donato, i. 212
- Bottis, Giovanni de, ii. 101
- Bragadin, Giorgio, i. 238
- Marcantonio, ii. 183; his birth, 183; visits to France, 184, 185; practises alchemy, 184; joins the Capuchins, 185; at Torbiato, 185; Lovere, 186; pursued by the police, 186; escape, 186; change in his prospects, 186; discovery of the *anima d'oro*, 187; experiments, 189, 200-2; offers to manufacture gold, 191; conditions, 192, 194; journey to Venice, 192; his jars placed in the Mint, 193-5; nugget tested, 195; fame, 196; his palace on the Giudecca, 197; gifts, 197; success, 197; letter to the doge, 198; escapes to Padua, 202; debts, 202; seeks refuge in Bavaria, 203; reception at the court, 204; relations with Rome, 205; beheaded, 206
- Braxfield, Lord, ii. 47
- Brazza, i. 85
- Brazzaduro, Nicolò, i. 96
- Brendola, John, of Este, i. 235
- Brenta, the, i. 3 *note*, 19, 88, 126

- Brescia, i. 119, 163; attack on, 166, 180, 183; surrenders, 166, 184
- Bresse, La, ii. 250
- Brienne, Boemond of, i. 69
- John of, i. 69
- Brindisi, port of, i. 339, ii. 265, 283
- British Museum, reading-room of the, ii. 148
- Brondolo, i. 40
- Brouillard, Robert, ii. 277
- Brown, Edward, his translation of Sarpi's *Letters*, ii. 233 *note*
- Rawdon, i. 326; his theory on the origin of the play *Othello*, ii. 171-4
- , *The Venetian Printing Press*, ii. 44 *note*
- Bruccioli, Antonio, ii. 94
- Francesco, ii. 71
- Bruslart, Leon, French ambassador in Venice, ii. 248, 274
- Brutti, Cristoforo, ii. 30
- Bruzoni, Alvise, ii. 11
- Bryas, palace of, i. 6
- Buccari, Fiammetta, i. 272
- Burgess, Elizeus, ambassador to Venice, i. 329
- Burlamachi, his view of assassination, i. 218, 221
- Bury, Professor, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, i. 4 *note*, 22 *note*
- Busenello, i. 333
- Bussone, Francesco, i. 161.
- See Carmagnola
- Bustron, Giorgio, i. 265 *note*
- Byng, Admiral, i. 208 *note*
- Byron, Lord, on the statue of Bartolomeo Colleoni, i. 79 *note*
- Cadileskiers*, or chief justices, ii. 18
- Cairo, ii. 137
- Caldogno of Vicenza, ii. 184
- Calendario, Filippo, i. 94; arrested, 96; executed, 97
- Calichio polo, John, i. 362
- Cambray, League of, wars, i. 291; result, 352
- Campalto, i. 32
- Campiello del Remer, i. 48 *note*
- Canal, Martin de, *Cronaca Veneta*, i. 58 *note*
- Candia, war of, ii. 296
- Cane, Facino, i. 144
- Cape of Good Hope route, discovery of the, i. 351, 353, ii. 34
- Capella, Gian Maria, ii. 209
- Capello, Giovanni Battista, memorandum from Giolito, ii. 101; sent to Naples, 101, 103
- Pier Giovanni, his treatise on the economic principles of Venetian fiscal legislation, i. 335, 337, 350
- Cappella, La, fort, i. 166
- Caprulas or Caorle, i. 18 *note*
- Caraffa, Giovanni Pietro, Bishop of Chieti, ii. 69; his scheme for establishing the Inquisition for censorship of books, 69; his *Index*, 70; member of the "Oratory of Divine Love," 113
- Caresini, Rafaino, i. 83
- Carmagnola, date of his birth, i. 161; characteristics, 162; becomes a soldier, 162; enters Filippo Visconti's service, 163; in command of the troops, 163; his military successes, 163, 165, 166; honours and rewards, 164, 167, 191; bombards Bergamo, 166; besieges Cremona, 166; attack on Brescia, 166; wounded, 166; marriage, 167; palace, 168; income, 168; his victory over Genoa, 169; Swiss campaign, 170; victory of Arbedo, 170; appointed Governor of Genoa, 170; relations with Visconti, 171-4, 177; ambitious schemes, 172-4, 195; offers his services to Venice, 174; terms, 176; contract signed,

- 177; plot against, 177; relations with Venice, 178; speech before the Senate, 179; appointed commander-in-chief, 179; lays siege to Brescia, 180; ill-health, 180, 183, 207; appearance, 181; elected a noble of Venice, 182; communications with Visconti, 182, 185, 189, 192, 194, 200; his conduct of the campaigns, 186-91, 196; dissatisfaction of the Republic, 189; his victory of Macclodio, 191; reappointed commander-in-chief, 194; failure to capture Cremona, 199; Soncino, 200; orders for his arrest, 201-3; trial, 203; execution, 205; charges against, 206-15
- Carnesechi, Messer, ii. 131
- Carpentras, see of, ii. 125
- Carrara, i. 116
- Francesco, lord of Padua, i. 109, 111, 123; his alliance with Hungary, 123; relations with Venice, 124-7; his hatred of the Visconti, 125; war with Austria, 125; with Venice, 127; defeated at Lova, 128; attempts on his life, 128; at the siege of Chioggia, 130; his hatred of Venice, 131; at the siege of Treviso, 131; increase of territory, 131; alliance with Visconti, 133; league against, 134; resigns the government, 134; made prisoner, 135; death, 135
- Francesco III. at the siege of Bologna, i. 144; taken prisoner, 144, 148; escape, 144; executed, 149
- Jacopino, i. 123
- Jacopo, i. 116; his character, 117 *note*; at the siege of Bologna, 144; taken prisoner, 144, 147; escape, 144; executed, 149
- Carrara, Marsiglio, i. 118; his hatred of the house of Scala, 118; embassy to Venice, 118; seizes Padua, 119; attempt on his life, 119-21, 235; death, 121
- Nicolò, i. 118
- Novello, i. 128; yields Padua, 135, 148; his efforts to conciliate Visconti, 136; plot against, 136; sent to Cortusone, 136; his wanderings, 137-9; in Florence, 139; mission to Bavaria, 140; march to Padua, 141; recovers the city, 142; proclaims himself lord of Verona, 146; war with Venice, 147; made prisoner, 148; executed, 149; burial, 150
- Ubertino, i. 111, 119; attempt on his life, 119-21; his relations with Venice, 122; revenge on a Venetian noble, 122
- Casa, Giovanni della, Archbishop of Benevento, his catalogue of prohibited books, ii. 64; sources, 66; documents issued with, 85-7
- Casalbutano, i. 200
- Casale, i. 162
- Casalmaggiore, i. 200; attack on, 186; fall, 187; recovery, 187
- Casanis, John de, i. 240
- Cassalis, Sir Gregory, ambassador to Venice, i. 329
- Cassiodorus, secretary of Theodoric the Great, his epistle to the Venetians, i. 1
- Castagnaro, battle of, i. 133
- Castelazzo, i. 167
- Castelbaldo, i. 119
- Castellesi, Adrian, Bishop of Bath and Wells, attempt on his life, i. 244
- Castelnovo, i. 167
- Castelvetri, the excommunicated outlaw, ii. 115
- Castiglione, Bernardo, ii. 81

- Cateau-Cambresis, Peace of, ii. 258
- Cattaro, ii. 9, 32
- Cavalcabò, his attempt to seize Cremona, i. 198
- Cavalli, Marin, ii. 23
- Cazna*, or treasury, ii. 19
- Celidon, Cape, victory of, ii. 265, 267
- Celsi, Lorenzo, i. 101
- Ceneda, Count-Bishop of, i. 86
- Cenis, Mont, i. 137
- Cerigo, i. 50
- Cerines, castle of, i. 267
- Cesena, i. 133
- Chancelleries, or collections of state papers, i. 313; the files or *filze*, 313; "Registri," 314; "Rubrics," 314; preservation of the inferiore, 316; the ducal, 317; the secret, 318
- Chancellor, office of the Grand, i. 315; his duties, 315; custody of the state papers, 315
- Charles the Great, captures Pavia, i. 15; crowned emperor, 16, ii. 225; at Selz, i. 27; receives Fortunatus, 28; gifts from him, 29; death, 46
- Charles I., King of England, i. 324; his policy, ii. 307; execution, 309
- II., King of England, i. 324; his restoration, 325, ii. 321
- IV., Emperor, i. 86, 111
- V., Emperor, ii. 61, 119; proposes the Diet of Ratisbon, 122
- Charlotte, i. 264; her marriages, 265; proclaimed Queen of Cyprus, 265; renews her claim to the throne, 276; character, 276; at the court of the Soldan of Egypt, 276; return to Italy, 276
- Chaushes*, or messengers, ii. 18
- Checchetti, *Il Doge di Venezia*, i. 303 note
- Chiara, i. 195
- Chiavenna, ii. 115
- Chieraggia, the Jewess, ii. 136
- Chiodo, Jacopo, first director of the archives, i. 296
- Chioggia, i. 40, 85, 140, ii. 273; war of, 130
- Christopher, appointed to the bishopric of Olivolo, i. 25
- Cicogna, Pasquale, ii. 200
- Cittadella, i. 119
- *Storia della Dominazione Carrarese in Padova*, i. 111 note, 116 note, 125 note
- Cividale, i. 119, 125
- Civil War of 1642, outbreak of, i. 323; causes of the, ii. 306
- Civita Vecchia, made a free port, i. 352
- Civran, General, his victory over the King of Hungary, i. 86
- Clement VIII., Pope, his Index, ii. 75, 76, 82
- Clugies Major or Chioggia, i. 18 note
- Cocceius, his view of assassination, i. 218
- Codex Carolinus*, i. 23 note, et seq.
- Colbertaldi, *Vita di Caterina*, i. 287 note
- Collegio or Cabinet of Ministers, i. 300; members, 300-2; the ducal councillors, 302; right of initiating, 302; series of documents, 325; the "Lettere Principi," 326; "Esposizioni Principi," 328; "Libri Ceremoniali," 328
- Colleoni, Bartolomeo, i. 79 note
- Paolo, i. 165
- Cologne University, censorship of books, ii. 57
- Colombano, San, i. 135
- Colonna, Egidio, his view on equality of Church and State, ii. 227
- Comacchio, i. 15; defeat at, 38
- Commercial policy of Venice, i. 338; treaty proposals between England and Venice, 361-4

- Comnene, John, Emperor of Trebizond, i. 261
- Como, i. 135; assault on, 165
- Lake of, i. 48 *note*
- Compostelli, Piero de, i. 98
- Concha, Francesco, i. 237
- Concini, Marshal of France, ii. 256
- Concordat or *Declaratio*, result of the, ii. 83
- Consiglio, Maggiore, i. 54. *See* Council
- Constance, Lake of, i. 140
- Constantine IV., Emperor, i. 7
- V., Emperor, i. 5, 7
- Constantinople, i. 4, 10, 14, 46; result of the union between the Church and the Franks, 23; fall, 351; the *Bailo* or agent-in-ordinary, ii. 2; revenue of the embassy, 23
- Contarini, Aloise, i. 358
- Andrea, i. 176
- Gasparo, Cardinal, member of the "Oratory of Divine Love," ii. 114; his birth, 116; interest in philosophy, 117; passion for writing, 118; insomnia, 118; character, 119; raised to the cardinalate, 120; proposed reforms in Rome, 121; his document the *Advice of the Select Cardinals*, 122; at the Diet of Ratisbon, 123, ii. 233; sent as legate to Bologna, 124; illness and death, 124; *De Republica Venetorum*, i. 293 *note*
- Frederico, i. 202
- Venetian ambassador in Rome, ii. 269; his opinion of Pierre, 270-2
- Vincenzo, i. 323
- Conti, Lothario, ii. 266. *See* Innocent III.
- Copronymus, Constantine, i. 5
- Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean*, ii. 263 *note, et seq.*
- Coriolan, Ceppio, *De Petri Mocenici gestis*, i. 273 *note*, 275 *note*
- Corn, supply of, for Venice, ii. 26
- Cornaro, Alvise, *La Vita Sobria*, ii. 215 *note*
- Andrea, i. 264, 267, 273; murdered, 274
- Caterina, Queen of Cyprus, i. 255; her birth, 261; appearance, 262; betrothal, 268; remains in Venice, 269; portraits, 270-2; reaches Cyprus, 272; death of her husband, 272; birth of a son, 273; relatives murdered, 274; made a prisoner, 274; death of her son, 275; cruel treatment by Venice, 278-80; conspiracies against her life, 279; compelled to resign, 282; abdication, 283, 285; reaches Venice, 284; her life at the castle of Asolo, 285-90; last royal ceremony, 291; death and funeral, 292; oration, 292
- Fiorenza, l. 261
- Giorgio, i. 215; sent to compel his sister Caterina to resign, i. 282; receives the honour of knighthood, 285; *podestà* in Brescia, 291; recalled, 291
- Marco, i. 261; sent to Cyprus, 276; on the treatment sustained by his daughter Caterina, 280; attempt on his life, 280
- Coronelli, *Blazone Veneto*, i. 75 *note*
- Correr, Paolo, i. 197, 203
- Signor Zuanne, ii. 12
- Correttori della *Promissione ducale*, election of the five, i. 57, 87; proposed modifications, 87
- Corsini, Stefano, ii. 101
- Corso, Zuan da, arrested and tortured, i. 96
- Cortusone, castle of, i. 136

- Corvini, i. 184
Cottimo, or duty, ii. 23
 Council, the Great, i. 54, 61 ;
 mode of election, 54 *note* ;
 decrees, 56 ; election by
 the Forty-one, 58 *note* ; re-
 form in the system, 58-62 ;
 terms of the measure *Serrata*
 del Maggior Consiglio, 63 ;
 result of the statute, 65 ;
 closing of the, 297 ; elections
 to the magistracies, 298 ;
 judicial functions, 299 ; series
 of registers, 318
 — of Ten, i. 307. *See* Ten
 Craverio, Prè Antonio, proof-
 reader, ii. 91
 Crema, plot against, ii. 288,
 292
 Cremona, i. 135 ; attack on,
 166, 198 ; sold, 166 ; action
 near, 188
 Crete, colonization of, i. 50
 Cromwell, Oliver, his relations
 with Venice, i. 324 ; created
 protector, ii. 300, 313 ; re-
 ceives Pauluzzi, 301, 302 ;
 Sagredo, 304, 305 ; appear-
 ance, 304 ; policy, 310, 314 ;
 treatment of the Parliament,
 312 ; expenditure, 314 ; re-
 ligion, 315 ; career, 318 ;
 character of his preaching,
 318 ; habits, 319 ; sons, 319
 — Richard, ii. 320
 Crusade, the Fourth, close of,
 i. 50
 Currants, export duty on, i.
 357
 Curzola, battle of, ii. 26
 Cyprus, under the Venetian
 empire, i. 283
 — Caterina Cornaro, Queen of,
 i. 255. *See* Cornaro
 — Pierino Lusignan, King of,
 his coronation, i. 130
 Dalmatia, attitude of towns, i.
 33, 36 ; surrenders to Hun-
 gary, 114, 125 ; occupied, 124 ;
 administration of justice, 309
 Dandolo, Andrea, his *Chronicon*,
 18 *note*, 26 *et seq.* ; his death,
 87
 — Giovanni, doge, his death, i.
 62 ; quarrel with Bertuccio, 93
 — Marino, competitor for the
 ducal chair, i. 57
 Danielis, i. 9
 Dante, on the rights of the
 State over the Church, ii.
 227, 228
 Daru, *Histoire de la République*
 de Venise, i. 18 *note*, *et seq.* ; his
 theory on the Spanish Con-
 spiracy, ii. 249
 Decembrio, Candido, *Life of*
 Visconti, i. 161 *note*
 "Deliberazioni," series of, i.
 320
 Deodato, Doge of Venice, i.
 23
 Desbrouleaux, Charles, ii. 287 ;
 arrested and strangled, 293
 — Jean, ii. 287 ; arrested and
 strangled, 293
 Desiderius, the last king in
 Pavia, i. 15
 Diacono, Giovanni, *Cronaca*
 Veneziana, 17 *note*, *et seq.*
 Diaconus, Paulus, extract from
 his History, i. 2 *note*
 Diedo, Ser Johannes, President
 of the Council of Ten, i. 235
 Dilengen, ii. 131
 Diodati, translator of the Bible,
 ii. 221
 Diplomatic service of Venice,
 ii. 1
 Disdier, St., *La Ville et Répu-*
 blique de Venise, i. 293 *note* ;
 ii. 179
 "Dispacci," series of, i. 321
 Divan, attending a, ii. 17-9
 Doge, election of the first, i.
 20 ; curtailment of his power,
 55, 59 ; mode of election,
 55, 304 ; restrictions on his
 position, 59 ; duties, 303 ;
 funeral ceremonies, 303 ;
 takes the coronation oath,
 305 ; position, 305 ; per-

- sonal authority, 306; witnesses Bragadin's experiment on gold, ii. 200-2
- Dogliani, *Historia Veneta*, ii. 183 *note*, 206 *note*
- Dohna, von, his despatches on Sarpi, ii. 214 *note*, 221
- Doimo, Count of Veglia, i. 68
- Donato, Ermolao, i. 203, 207
- Leonardo, elected doge, ii. 236; death, 243
- Marco, i. 72 *note*
- Nicolò, doge, ii. 246 *note*
- Doni, Gian Francesco, ii. 93
- Donne, Lago delle, i. 116
- Doro, Nicoletto, i. 94
- Dorotea, or Giusien, adventures of, ii. 152-8
- Dotto, Zanibon, i. 111
- Dragomans, their character, ii. 21
- Drin, valley of the, ii. 9
- Drusi, Bernardo, ii. 290
- Ducali, establishment of the college of six Consiglieri, i. 55
- Dudley, Charles, document on, i. 327
- Sir Robert, i. 327
- Dulcigno, ii. 9
- Dnodo, Chevalier, ii. 14
- Dutch, their mutiny crushed, in Venice, ii. 284, 286
- Eastern Empire, its longevity, i. 4; character of the administration, 5; life of the palace, 6-10; legends of Leo the Isaurian, 8; Basil I., 9
- Einhard, *Annales*, i. 27 *note*, *et seq.*
- El Basan, ii. 9
- Elena, Queen of Cyprus, her character, i. 263; her treatment of James, 264; poisons her son-in-law, 265; death, 265
- Eliot (Allyan), Captain Robert, ii. 265
- Elizabeth, Queen of England, i. 321; her proficiency in Italian, ii. 160
- England, relations with Venice, i. 321, 323-5, ii. 297; commercial treaty proposals, i. 361-4; Indices of prohibited books, ii. 60; development of sea-power in the Mediterranean, 296; war with Holland, 311; peace concluded, 313
- Episode, an International, ii. 152-8
- Equilio or Jesolo, i. 18 *note*
- Eschinasi, Salomon, ii. 136
- Espionage, system of, in Venice, ii. 261
- Essex, Earl of, ii. 308
- Este, Marchese di, i. 134, 147
- Taddea, i. 137; her wanderings and sufferings, 137-9; reaches Padua, 142
- Estensi, the, i. 108
- Estienne, Robert, ii. 71
- Euganean Hills, i. 285, 287
- Eugenius IV., Pope, ii. 231
- Eustacchio, Pasino, i. 187, 196
- Export duty, i. 350
- Fabrice, John, i. 273
- Lewis, Archbishop of Nicosia, i. 269; his revolt against Caterina Cornaro, 274
- Fabrizio of Acquapendente, ii. 215
- Faggiuola, victory of, i. 177
- Fairfax, defeats the royal troops, ii. 308; compelled to resign, 309
- Falconberg, Lord, i. 332
- Falier, Jacopo, i. 84
- Marino, i. 52; his conspiracy, 79, 93; insult to, 80, 82, 91; paper relating to his case, 81-4; his birth and parents, 84; career, 85, 86; marriage, 85; Governor of Treviso, 85; assumes the title of Count of Val di Mareana, 86; reputation as a diplomatist and soldier, 86; elected doge, 88; entry into Venice, 89; his action on the news

- of the defeat at Sapienza, 90; interview with Bertuccio, 93; his trial, 97; beheaded, 98; tomb, 99; reasons for the conspiracy, 101-5; result, 106
- Falier, Saray, i. 92
- Ser Piero, i. 92
- Famagosta, i. 130, 267; rebellion in, 274; order restored, 275; abdication of the Queen of Cyprus at, 283
- Farnese, Cardinal, his despatch to Contarini, ii. 124
- Felix V., Pope, ii. 231
- Feltre, i. 115, 119, 125, 131, 174
- Francesco da, ii. 30
- Ferdinand, Archduke, his war with Venice, ii. 250, 263
- Ferrara, i. 15; congress at, 192
- Ferrari, his essay *Storia delle Rivoluzioni d'Italia*, i. 11 note
- Giolito de', ii. 88. See Giolito
- Filiassi, *Venete Primi e Secondi*, 24 note, et seq.
- Finlay, *History of Greece*, i. 5 note, 36 note
- Fiorentino, Remigio, ii. 94, 97, 107
- Flaminio, Antonio, ii. 131
- Fleming, Sir Oliver, his reception of Pauluzzi, ii. 298
- Florence, i. 139; war with Visconti, 177; league with Venice, 179
- Florentine Catalogue, ii. 67
- Fondulo, Gabrino, lord of Cremona, i. 164, 165; attack on, 166; sells Cremona, 166
- Forli, i. 133
- Fortunatus, patriarch of Grado, i. 26; his personality, 26; career, 26; politics, 27; conspiracy against the doges, 27; flight to Charles the Great, 27, 36, 43; his views on subduing Venice, 28; gifts to the Emperor, 29; made abbot of Moya Montier, 29; return to Venice, 32; at Istria, 33; appointed Bishop of Pola, 33; intrigues in Dalmatia, 33, 36; declared outlaw, 36; return to Grado, 43; his plot against Angelo Particiaco, 45; expelled, 45; at Dalmatia, 46; death, 47
- Foscari, Francesco, i. 52, 175, ii. 58; appointed doge, 176; on the necessity for war with Filippo Visconti, 179
- Foscarini, Venetian ambassador, i. 354; fate of, ii. 262
- Foscolo, Lunardo, his offer to destroy the Turkish army, i. 241-4
- France, censorship of the press, ii. 63; withdrawal from Italy, 250; civil wars in, 257
- Francis I., his decree on books, ii. 63
- Franck, Daniel, *Disquisitio academica de papistarum Indicibus*, ii. 40 note
- Franco, Nicolò, Bishop of Treviso, ii. 93, 95; condemns books, 41; constitution on printing books, 57
- Veronica, i. 257
- Franks, powers of the, i. 11; union with the Church of Rome, 14-7, 23; attack on Venice, 40; forced to retire, 40
- Free trade, proposals for, i. 357-9
- Frejus, i. 137
- Frescot, *La Nobiltà Veneta*, i. 75 note
- Friuli, i. 39, 141
- Fulgenzio, Fra, his life of Paolo Sarpi, ii. 208
- Fulin, Rinaldo, *Errori Vecchi e Documenti Nuovi*, i. 217
- Fusina, i. 89

- Galata, ii. 18
 Galbaio, Giovanni, his character, i. 24
 — Maurice, i. 24
 Galileo, ii. 205
 Gallipoli, i. 50
 Gambacorta, i. 139
 Garda, Lago di, i. 239, ii. 131
 Garzoni, Dandolo, i. 203
 Gattari, Galeazzo, *Istoria Padovana*, i. 109 *note, et seq.*
 Gattaro, Andrea, his description of Jacopo Carrara, i. 150 *note*
 Geneva, i. 140
 Genoa, Republic of, i. 86 ; under the protection of Visconti, 89 ; victory at Sapienza, 124 ; surrenders, 169
 — Adorno, Doge of, i. 138
 Gentile, Gabriel, i. 274
 Gfrörer, *Geschichte Venedigs*, i. 22 *note, 27 note*
 Ghilino, Cristoforo, i. 185, 195
 Ghislieri, Inquisitor-General, on the Pauline Index, ii. 71
 Giannotti, *Della Repubblica di Veneziani*, i. 77 *note, 293 note*
 Giavarina, Francesco, Venetian Resident in London, i. 324, ii. 306, 320
 Giblest, Tristan, i. 281
 Gibraltar, i. 354
 Gilbert of Colchester, ii. 215
 Gioliti, Valle de', ii. 88
 Giolito, Fenice, ii. 107
 — Gabriele, ii. 88 ; his birth, 90 ; death of his father, 92 ; his printing press, 93 ; publications, 93, 95 ; qualifications, 93 ; friends, 93, 97 ; scheme of an uniform series, 96, 97 ; the Ghirlanda Spirituale, 97 ; his adoption of the new type, 99 ; fame and position, 100 ; branch shops, 100 ; trouble with the Naples branch, 101-6 ; memorandum for Capello, 101 ; trial before the Holy Office, 104-6 ; marriage, 106 ; children, 107 ; death, 108
 Giolito, Giampolo, ii. 109
 — Giovanni, his printing press in Trino, ii. 90 ; in Venice, 90, 92 ; marriages, 92 ; will, 92
 — Lucrezia, her marriage, ii. 106 ; will, 106 ; children, 107 ; death, 108
 Giorgio Maggiore, San, peace of, i. 184
 Giorgione, his portrait of Caterina Cornaro, i. 271
 Giovanni, patriarch of Grado, i. 24 ; refuses to consecrate Christopher, 25 ; murdered, 25
 — Ser, his *Pecorone*, ii. 162
 Giraldis, Giovanni Battista, ii. 93 ; the seventh novel of the *Ecatommiti*, 169-77
 Girardi, Giacomo, ii. 11
 Girls of Venice, their mode of living, i. 258-61
 Giron, Don Pedro of, ii. 251.
See Osuna
 Giustinian, Pietro, his chronicle of the Falier conspiracy, i. 83
 — Sebastian, Venetian ambassador in London, i. 231
 — Taddeo, defeated, i. 128
 — Bernardo, *Dell' Origine di Venetia*, i. 54 *note*
 Glarenza, i. 357
 Glover, Sir Thomas, English ambassador at Constantinople, ii. 29, 33 ; recalled, 37
 Gonzaga, Luigi, i. 341
 Gonzaghi, the, i. 108
 Gottolengo, defeat at, i. 187
 Gradenigo, Alvica, i. 85
 — Francesco, ii. 11
 — Piero, his characteristics, i. 63 ; elected doge, 63 ; his measure the *Serrata del Maggior Consiglio*, 63 ; plot against, 71 ; measures of defence, 72
 — trial and sentence, i. 149

- Gradenigo, Vincenzo, account of his journey to Constantinople, ii. 9-14; death, 14
- Grado, i. 17 *note*, 44
- Graes, Jodocus, on the number of books on the Index, ii. 49
- Grassis, Paris de, i. 247
- Graubünden, ii. 65
- Gregory II., Pope, his alliance with Liutprand, i. 13, 21
- VII., Pope, ii. 226. *See* Hildebrand
- XIII., Pope, ii. 74
- Gretser, *De jure*, etc., ii. 40 *note*
- Grimaldi, Giovanni, i. 196
- Grimani, Antonio, case of, i. 299
- Contessa, i. 329
- Girolamo, his friendship for Spinoza, ii. 277; flight, 280; obtains access to Osuna, 280; attempts on his life, 281
- Gronovius, his view of assassination, i. 218
- Grotius, his view of assassination, i. 218
- Grumello, Galeazzo, i. 148
- Gryllus, i. 7
- Gubbio, i. 15
- Guild system, in Venice, i. 345
- Gussoni, Agostino, ii. 10, 11
- Guyot, M. Yves, i. 365
- Haagen, Cornelius van, i. 352
- Hadrian, Pope, i. 23
- Hardy, Sir Thomas Duffus, his Report on the Archives, i. 293 *note*
- Hassan, the janizary, ii. 30
- Pasha, ii. 137
- Hawkwood, Sir John, i. 140
- Hazlitt, Mr., his *History of the Venetian Republic*, i. 57 *note*
- Helian, Louis, i. 206
- Helman, Charles, case of, ii. 5 *note*, 29
- Henry II., i. 17 *note*
- III., King of France, his reception in Venice, ii. 184, 260
- Henry IV., King of France, murdered, ii. 243, 257
- VIII., King of England, i. 321
- Heraclea, i. 3, 18 *note*; rivalry with Malamocco, 3, 20, 49; removal of government from, 23; destruction of, 31
- Heraclius, i. 5
- Hildebrand, Pope, claims supremacy over the State, ii. 226, 229. *See* Gregory VII.
- Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, i. 18 *note*
- Holderness, Lord, i. 329
- Holland, war with England, ii. 311; peace concluded, 313
- Houssaye, Amelot de la, *Histoire du Gouvernement de Venise*, i. 293 *note*
- Hungary, gains Dalmatia, i. 114; war with Venice, 124
- Lewis, King of, war with Venice, i. 86, 124
- Hyères, i. 137
- "Hypatos," meaning of the term, i. 22
- Ibraim, Pasha, Governor of Cairo, ii. 137; his appearance, 137; ambition, 137; wealth, 138; reduces the Druses, 138; presents to the Sultan, 138; preparations for his marriage, 138; presents, 139-41; wedding ceremonies, 140-4; banquets, 141; procession, 143; treatment, 144
- Icaria, i. 50
- Imola, Daniele da, i. 199
- Imperiis, Giovanni de, sent to arrest Carmagnola, i. 201-3
- Import duty, i. 350; repeal of the, 360
- Index Librorum Prohibitorum, its history, ii. 56; creation of the Congregation, 74; Clementine, 76, 82; English, 60; Florentine, 67; Louvain, 61, 62; Lucca, 64;

- Milanese, 68; Pauline, 70; Roman, 41; Sixtine, 74; Sorbonne, 63; Spanish, 62; Tridentine, 72, 80; Venetian, 64, 68, 95
- Industries, protection of, in Venice, i. 344
- Innocent III., Pope, claims supremacy over the State, ii. 226, 229
- Iseo, Lago d', ii. 186
- Isonzo, i. 44
- Istria, i. 16, 33; operations against, 86; plans of, ii. 265
- Italy, influence of the Church of Rome, i. 11; characteristics of the Signori, 107-12, 115; number of family murders, 110; character of politics and treaties, 112-4; sufferings of the people, 114; the Carraresi, 116; incapacity for unification, 152; result of the mercenary troops, 153; characteristics of the native troops, 156-60; art of war, 158; assassinations, 217; views on, 218; executionary, 219; private, 220; tyrannicide, 220-3; political, 223-33; first censorial order relating to books, ii. 57; withdrawal of France, 250; designs of Spain, for securing supremacy, 236
- Ivrea, i. 174
- Ixarello, Bertuccio, his quarrel with Dandolo, i. 93; interview with the doge, 93; conspiracy, 93; arrested and executed, 97
- Jaffa, Count of, i. 274
- James I., King of England, his accession, i. 322
- Jenson, Nicolas, ii. 98
- Jerusalem, Isabella, Queen of, i. 262
- Jesuits, their ecclesiastical policy, ii. 219; hatred of
- Sarpi, 222; Society of, established, 233
- Jews, their influence on trade in Constantinople, ii. 25, 136
- John the Deacon, Bishop of Olivolo, i. 17 *note*, 33
- of Paris, his view on equality of Church and State, ii. 227
- XXII., Pope, condemns books, ii. 40 *note*
- Johnson, Dr., on the dangers of a free press, ii. 41, 47
- Jovius, Paulus, on the death of Leo X., i. 247
- Julian Alps, i. 285
- Justice, administration of, i. 309; special courts, 309; courts of appeal, 309-12; method of payment, 312
- Juven, Baldassare, reveals the conspiracy against Venice, ii. 291
- Kanischa, ii. 137
- Killigrew, Mrs. Anne, i. 333
- Thomas, i. 329; in Venice, 333, ii. 297
- Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, i. 22 *note*, 27 *note*
- Ladies of Venice, their mode of living, i. 257; custom of wearing pattens, 258, ii. 178
- Lamansky, Vladimir, *Secrets d'Etat de Venise*, i. 217, 234; extract from "Of the Right that Princes have to compass the Lives of their Enemies' Allies," 225-9
- Lambert, Sergeant-General, ii. 319
- Lampsacus, i. 50
- Lando, Count, captain of the mercenary army, i. 155
- Langrand (*sive* Langlade), Captain, ii. 269; his share in the conspiracy against Venice, 269; in Venice, 271, 273; arrested and shot, 293
- Larissa, ii. 10

- Lateran Council, ii. 59
 Latrie, M. de Mas, *Projet d'empoisonnement de Mahomet II.*, i. 216, *et seq.*
 Lausanne, i. 140
 Lazzarini, Signor Vittorio, *Marino Faliero la Congiura*, i. 81, *et seq.*
 Lecco, fall of, i. 165
 Leghorn, i. 140, 352
 Legend, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, ii. 43 *note*
 Lenthal, Speaker, ii. 299
 Leo III., Pope, his flight, i. 15; receives temporal sovereignty, 16; advice to Fortunatus, 27
 — V., Emperor, i. 7
 — X., Pope, account of his death, i. 246–8; his Bull *Inter Sollicitudines*, ii. 59; *Exurge*, 60
 — the Isaurian, i. 5; legend of, 8; iconoclasm, ii. 225
 Lepanto, ii. 10; victory at, 35, 37
 Lerma, Duke of, ii. 251
 Lesdigières, Marshal, ii. 291
 Lesina, i. 85, ii. 283
 Levant, administration of justice, i. 309
 Levantina, Val, i. 169
 Lewis, Emperor, i. 46
 Lezze, Luca da, inquisitor of the Ten, i. 97
 Library, the ideal, ii. 146; attractions, 148; episodes in, 149
Libro d'Oro, meaning of the term, i. 64 *note*
 Lido, the, i. 284
 Lion, Messer Nicolò, i. 95
 — Messer Pasqualin, case of, ii. 29–32
 Lione, Giacomo, i. 128
 Lionello, secretary in London, ii. 274
 Lippomano, Hieromino, his fate, ii. 37
 Liutprand, King of the Lombards, his alliance with Gregory II., i. 13, 21; conquest of Ravenna, 14, 21
 Lodi, attack on, i. 196
 Lojera, defeat of, i. 89
 Lombards, power of the, i. 11; reaction against, 13
 Lombardy, i. 11
 Loredan, Antonio, i. 277
 — Beriola, i. 84
 Louis I., Emperor, inscription on the penny of, i. 3 *note*
 Louvain Index or Catalogues, ii. 61, 62
 Lova, victory at, i. 128
 Lovere, ii. 186
 Lucca, i. 119; Catalogue, ii. 64
 — Cesare de, ii. 105
 Lucerne, i. 140
 Ludrini, Pietro, agent for Giolito at Naples, ii. 101; his dishonesty, 101–5; expulsion, 103
 Lugo, Moccino da, i. 204
 Lusignan, Eugenio, i. 272
 — Giovanni, i. 272
 — Guy de, i. 262
 — James, his parents, i. 263; character, 263; appearance, 264; appointed Archbishop of Nicosia, 264; arrested, 265; escape, 265; flight to Alexandria, 266; supposed recantation, 266; crowned King of Cyprus, 267; betrothal, 268; death, 272; children, 272; will, 272
 — King Jan, i. 262
 — John II., King of Cyprus, his character, i. 263; death, 265
 — Pierino, King of Cyprus, his coronation, i. 130
 — Zarla, i. 272; sent to Venice, 277; death, 277
 Luther, Martin, ii. 254; on the communion list, 60; on the Diet of Ratisbon, 233
 Lyons, Peace of, result of the, ii. 250
 Mabillon, *Annales Benedictini*, i. 29 *note*, 46 *note*

Maclodio, victory of, i. 191
 Madrid, Peace of, ii. 250, 252
 Magistracies, elections to, i. 298
 Mahommed II., Sultan, ii. 3
 Malamocco, i. 3, 40; rivalry
 with Heraclea, 3, 20, 49;
 government removed to, 23
 Malaspina, Bernabò, i. 247
 — Celio, his offer to forge
 handwriting, i. 248
 Malatesta, Carlo, i. 191; taken
 prisoner, 192
 — Pandolfo, lord of Brescia,
 i. 164; lord of Rimini, 290
 Malipiero, Alessandro, ii. 241;
 death, 243
 — *Annali*, i. 338 *et seq.*
 Manchester, Earl of, ambas-
 sador to Venice, i. 329; his
 proposals for a commercial
 treaty between England and
 Venice, 361-4
 Manfredi, Fra, fate of, ii. 223
 Manfredonia, ii. 288
 Mantua, i. 16
 — Duke of, his visits to Braga-
 din, ii. 187, 191; offers to
 him, 191
 — Gonzaga, lord of, i. 144
 Manutius, Paul, ii. 99
 Marano fortress, ii. 290
 Marca Trevigiana, i. 86, 124,
 131
 Marcello, Bartolomeo, first
 Venetian bailo at Constan-
 tinople, ii. 3
 — Giovanni, chief of the Ten,
 i. 97
 — Pietro, Governor of the
 Mint, ii. 194
 Marena, Val di, i. 86
 Margherita, Santa, i. 138
 Margogliet, ii. 285
 Mariana, extract from *De Rege
 et Regis Institutione*, on as-
 sassination, i. 219
 Mariani, Messer Paulo, ii. 156
 Marin, *Storia Civile e Politica
 del Commercio dei Venezia*,
 i. 44 *note*, *et seq.*
 Marini, Fra Vincenzo, ii. 29

Marino, Fra, compiles the
 Venetian Catalogue, ii. 66
 — victory of, i. 156
 Marioni, Rizardo, arrested, i.
 91
 Marocco, villa of, i. 70
 Marseilles, i. 137, 353
 Marsilio, *Defensor Pacis*, con-
 demned, ii. 40 *note*, 228; his
 doctrine of the People, 228
 — della Croce, account of the
 visit of Henry III. to Venice,
 i. 260 *note*
 Martel, Charles, his victory,
 i. 14
 Martin V., Pope, ii. 231
 Martinengo, Marcantonio,
 present at the experiment
 on *anima d'oro*, ii. 188; his
 report, 189; belief in Braga-
 din, 190, 202
 Mary, Queen of England, i.
 321
 Masèr, Villa, i. 285
 Massaferrò, i. 140
 Mastachelli, Filippo, i. 268
 Mastropiero, Doge Orto, i. 57
 note
 Mattei, Marin, ii. 294
 Matthea, the dragoman, case
 of, ii. 22
 Maultasch, Margaret, i. 126
 Medici, Lorenzino de', his
 "Apology for the Murder of
 Alessandro, Duke of Flor-
 ence," i. 221
 Melara, Paolo della, i. 189
 Mellini, Cardinal, ii. 280
 Melos, i. 50
 Melzi, Duca, i. 48 *note*
 — Villa, i. 48 *note*
 Memmo, Aloise, ii. 156
 Mendham, Rev. Joseph, *Liter-
 ary Policy of the Church of
 Rome*, ii. 40 *note*
 Mercantile marine, protection
 of, i. 348
 Mercenary troops, foreign and
 native, characteristics, 153-
 60
 Mesih Pasha, ii. 137

- Messetaria*, tax of, i. 345
 Mestre, i. 32
 Metamaucus or Malamocco, i. 18 *note*
Mezzani, secret agents or intermediaries, ii. 22; their duties, 22; pay, 22
 Michael, the Drunkard, i. 5, 7
 Michele II., Doge, assassinated, i. 53
 Michiel, Fantino, i. 203
 — Cardinal Giovanni, poisoned, i. 244
 — Giovanni, Venetian ambassador in London, i. 321
 Migliorati, Lodovico, i. 166
 Milanese Catalogue, ii. 68
 Milton, John, his view on a free press, ii. 42, 48, 50; on moral censorship, 51
 Minio, Marco, ii. 5
 Minor Clugies or Sottomarina, i. 18 *note*
 Mirandola, Pico della, *Theses*, condemned, ii. 41, 58
 Mocenigo, Admiral, i. 273; restores order in Famagosta, 275
 — Alvise, ii. 120
 — Andrea, his history of the wars of the League of Cambray, ii. 46
 — Doge, his anti-war policy, i. 175; speech on the trade of Venice, 351
 — Giovanni, ducal councillor, i. 97
 — Lazzaro, ii. 296
 — Signor Ottavio, ii. 10
 Molica, Francesco, ii. 285
 Molin, Micheleto de, arrested, i. 91
 Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, i. 74 *note*
 Monacis, Laurentii de, *Chronica de rebus Venetis*, i. 69 *note*, 72 *note*, 83 *note*; his narrative of Falier's conspiracy, 83, 87, 91
 Monaco, i. 140
 Monastir, ii. 9
 Moncassin, Gabriel, joins the plot against Venice, ii. 287
 Monfalcone, i. 132
 Monferrat, ii. 88; truce with, 163
 Monselice, i. 18
 Montagnana, Sicco da, i. 171
 Montalerio, Lelio, ii. 106
 Montebelluno, i. 285
 Montechiari, battle of, i. 166; fall, 191
 Monticcolo, Giovanni, *Cronache Veneziane*, i. 2 *note*, et seq.
Monumenta German. Hist., i. 27 *note*, et seq.
 Monza, i. 135; siege of, 163
 Morelli, Elizabeth, ii. 209
 Moriale, Fra, leader of the mercenary army, i. 155
 Morianas or Murano, i. 18 *note*
 Moris, Giovanni de, i. 204
 Moro, Cristoforo, i. 268
 — Giovanni, on the case of Pasqualin Lion, ii. 29-32
 Morosini, ambassador in Paris, ii. 298; removed, 299
 — Andrea, his description of Carmagnola, i. 181; commission to, 190 *note*; death, ii. 243
 — Antonio, his chronicle of of the Falier conspiracy, i. 83, 91
 — Mafeo, arrested, i. 91
 — Marco, i. 68
 — Marin, his election by the Forty-one, i. 58 *note*
 — Paolo, *Historia della Città di Venetia*, i. 270 *note*
 Moyen Moutier, abbey of, i. 29
 Muda, Marco, i. 96
 Mudazzo, Michelotto, case of, i. 238-40
 Munich, i. 140
 Murad III., Sultan, his appearance, ii. 134; ministers, 135; vizirs, 136; presents from Ibrahim, 138; preparations for the marriage of his daughter, 138; her presents,

- 139-41; wedding ceremonies, 140-4; procession, 143
 Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, i. 15 *note, et seq.*
 Murray, John, i. 330, 332
 Musurus, Marcus, appointed censor of Greek publications, ii. 43
- Namfio, i. 50
 Nani, Piero, i. 90
 Naples, i. 11
 —Alfonso of, proclaimed Prince of Galilee, i. 274; attempted marriage, 277; at Alexandria, 278
 —Ferdinand of, i. 269
 —Johanna, Queen of, i. 171, 172
 Narentine pirates, suppression of, i. 346
 Narses, i. 19
Nautici, Statuti, i. 347
 Navagero, Andrea, his oration over Caterina, i. 292
 —Bernardo, ii. 21
 Navarre, Margaret, Queen of, ii. 120
 Navarro, Dr., ii. 211
 Naxos, i. 50
 Negro, Marco, i. 96
 Negropont, i. 85; loss of, 273
 Nervi, i. 138
 Netherlands, relations with Venice, i. 360; censorship of the press, ii. 63
 Nevers, Duke of, ii. 256
 Nice, ii. 119
 Nicephorus I., i. 5; his character, 36
 Nicetas, in command of the fleet in the Adriatic, i. 36
 Nicholas, Pope, ii. 231
 Nievo, Michele del, i. 239
Nishanj, or chancellor, ii. 18
 Nolot, Lorenzo, ii. 285 *note*
 Northampton, Lord, ambassador to Venice, i. 329; ceremonies of his entry, 330-2; illness, 331
- Northumberland, Charles Dudley, Duke of, document on, i. 327
- Obelerio, tribune of Malamocco, i. 27; elected doge, 30; entry into Malamocco, 30; political views, 31; his Frankish policy, 34; marriage, 34; deposed and banished, 43
 Occhino, Bernard, ii. 64
 Ocham, William of, ii. 227
 Oderzo, i. 3, 18
 Odoni, Baldassare de, i. 236
 Oglio, i. 187
 Oliva, Camillo, ii. 210
 Olivolo, bishopric of, i. 25
 Oltise, Maria de, i. 74 *note*
 Oltrepò occupied, i. 163
 Orator, election of, to the Porte, ii. 6
 "Oratory of Divine Love," members of the, ii. 113; tendencies, 114
 Orimbey, ii. 17
 Orlandini, *Storia della Magistrature Venete*, i. 293 *note*, 345 *note*
 Orso, the doge, i. 21; receives the honorary title of "hypatos," 22; murdered, 22
 Ossola, Val d', i. 169
 Osuna, Duke of, Viceroy of Naples, ii. 247, 251, 263; his schemes to become King of Naples, 249, 252; character, 251; appointed Viceroy of Sicily, 251; treason, 252; army, 252; recalled, 252; trial, 253; death, 253; construction of a fleet, 264; conspiracy against Venice, 264-8; in the Adriatic, 283; relations with Pierre, 289; discovery of his plot, 290
 Otho III., Emperor, i. 17 *note*
 Otranto, i. 273
 Otway, his play *Venice Preserved*, ii. 245

- Paderborn, i. 15
 Padua, i. 18, 88, 115, 116, 119, 285; siege of, 135, 147, 148
 Paleologus, Andrea, i. 267
 — Elena, her character, i. 263.
 See Elena
 — Emperor John, i. 86
 Panighetti, Cardinal, i. 327
 Pannonia, i. 2 *note*
 — Duke of, his rebellion, i. 46
 Parma, i. 16, 119
 Paros, i. 50
 Particiaco, Angelo, assumes the lead against the Franks, i. 39; elected doge, 41; plot against his life, 45
 Paruta, Paolo, his view on the censorship of the press, ii. 52; remonstrance on the Clementine Index, 82
 Parvis, Henry, case of, ii. 33
 Pasqualigo, Orio, i. 97
 Passi, David, ii. 136
 Patras, i. 9, 357, ii. 10
 — Maria, i. 263; mutilated, 264; arrested, 277
 Patters, custom of wearing, i. 258, ii. 178
 Paul III., Pope, ii. 120; his Bull *Licet ab initio*, 69; on the Diet of Ratisbon, 233
 — IV., Pope, ii. 70. *See* Caraffa
 — V., Pope, his controversies, ii. 235; relations with Venice, 236
 — the exarch, i. 13, 21
 — Admiral, defeat of his expedition, i. 38
 Pauline Index, ii. 70-2
 Pauluzzi, Lorenzo, his series of despatches, i. 324; mission to London, ii. 298; interview with Sir Oliver Fleming, 298; resident in London, 300; audiences of Cromwell, 301, 302
 Pavia, i. 14; captured, 15, 167
 Peace of 1373, i. 129; of 1428, 193
 Pelegrino, San, i. 45
 Pelestrina, i. 40
 Pencini, Lorenzo, ii. 33
 Pera, ii. 16
 Pergine, i. 174
 Pergola, Angelo della, i. 170, 171
Perms, or small boats, ii. 18
 Petrarch, i. 83, 86; his oration on peace, 129; death, 129
 Philip III., King of Spain, ii. 250
 — IV., King of France, ii. 229
 Philippopolis, ii. 9
 Piacenza, occupied, i. 165
 Piccolomini, Alfonso, ii. 187
 Pictor, Bernard, ii. 98
 Pierlamberti, Francesco, i. 235
 Pierre, Jacques, ii. 264; his career, 264; enters Osuna's service, 265; wish to enter Venetian service, 269; secret visits to Spinelli, 270; in Venice, 271, 273; threatens Spinelli, 274; denounces Spinosa, 277; organizes the mutiny of the Dutch in Venice, 284, 286; secures conspirators for the plot against Venice, 286-8; details of his design, 287; relations with Osuna, 289; discovery of his plot, 291-3; drowned, 293
 Pietro II., Orseolo, Doge, i. 17 *note*
 Pilot, Dr. Antonio, "L'alchimista Marco Bragadin a Venezia," ii. 193 *note*
 Pindar, Sir Paul, i. 354
 Pipin I., his coronation, i. 14, ii. 255; attack on Venice, i. 38-40; forced to retire, 40; death, 40
 Pirano, ii. 294
 Pisa, i. 139
 Pisani, Fantino, in the siege of Casalmaggiore, i. 186
 — Vettor, case of, i. 299
 — his trial and sentence, i. 149
 Pius II., Pope, i. 266, ii. 231
 — IV., Pope, his *Moderatio Indicis*, ii. 72

- Pius V., Pope, his creation of the
Congregation of the Index, ii.
74
- Pizzeghettoni, i. 187; engage-
ment at, 188
- Platamona, ii. 11
- Po, i. 174, 186, ii. 88; defeat
on the, i. 196
- Podocataro, i. 268
- Poisons, method of using, i. 250;
inefficiency, 250; receipts,
251-3; administering, 253
- Pola, Bishopric of, i. 33
- Pole, Reginald, member of the
"Oratory of Divine Love,"
ii. 114; his letters, 115;
character, 128; exile, 129;
delicate constitution, 129;
friendship with Priuli, 130;
at Viterbo, 131; tempera-
ment, 131; cardinal, 132;
death, 132
- Polentani, the, i. 108
- Police system, development of,
i. 76
- Political assassination, views
on, i. 223-33; principle of
might is right, 223; of ex-
pediency, 223-9; typical
cases, 234; tenders for, 235-
7; quality and number of
assassins, 237
- Polo, San, i. 125
- Poole, R. L., *Journal of Theo-
logical Studies*, ii. 65 note
- Popes, position of, i. 12;
policy, 13
- Porcacchi, Tomaso, ii. 94, 96,
107
- Porphyrogenitos, Constantine,
De Adminis. Imp., i. 40 note
- Porro, Galeazzo, i. 138
- Porto Fino, i. 138
- Secco, i. 40
- Venere, i. 138
- Portolungo, defeat at, i. 90
- Portugal, Prince John of, his
marriage, i. 265; poisoned,
265
- Possevin, i. 212
- Postal service, ii. 32
- Poveglia, i. 60 note
- Pralboino, i. 188
- Prealto, i. 3 note
- Pregadi, College of the, estab-
lished, i. 56
- Press censorship, efforts to
control, ii. 39; views on a
free, 41-3; literary censor-
ship, 43; religious, 45, 58;
state, 45-50; moral, 50-4;
methods of applying, 54-6;
the *Index Librorum Pro-
hibitorum*, 56; use of the
Inquisition, 69
- Printing press, result of the
introduction, ii. 39-41; de-
terioration, 94, 98; type-
foundry opened, 99
- Priuli, Alvise, his friendship for
Pole, ii. 130
- Antonio, Doge, ii. 246 note
- Admiral, i. 281
- on the discovery of the Cape
route, i. 353
- Provveditori in campo*, meaning
of the term, i. 127 note
- Puegnago, i. 239
- Puffendorff, his view of assas-
sination, i. 218
- Pupilia or Poveglia, i. 18 note
- Putnam, *The Censorship of the
Church of Rome*, ii. 65 note
- Quast, Hildebrant, in command
of the Dutch fleet, ii. 284
- Querini, Jacopo, i. 71
- Marco, i. 68; meetings at
his house, 68, 70
- Pietro, i. 68
- Quetta, i. 188
- Quirini, Nicolò, i. 90
- Villa, i. 48 note
- Ragozza, Aloise, ii. 242
- Ragusa, ii. 137
- Brother John of, his offer to
assassinate, i. 236; scale of
prices, 236
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, his dictum
on the command of the sea,
i. 342

- Rambaud, *L'Empire Grec*, i. 11
note
- Ranke, von, *History of the Popes*, i. 244, 247; on the Spanish Conspiracy, ii. 245
- Rapallo, i. 138
- Ratisbon, Diet of, ii. 123; its failure, 233
- Ravenna, i. 11, 39, 140; conquest of, 14, 21
- Raynaud, Theophilus, *Erotomata de malis ac bonis libris*, ii. 40 *note*
- Record Office or Archive, ii. 147; characteristics of study in 149-51
- Reformation, result of the, ii. 256
- Reggio, i. 16
- Regnault, Nicolas, ii. 264; his career, 268; at Naples, 269; conspiracy against Venice, 269; in Venice, 271, 273; arrested and strangled, 293
- "Relazioni," series of, i. 320
- Remo, San, i. 138
- Renan, M., his ideal of a library, ii. 146
- Reusch, Dr., *Der Index der Verbotenen Bücher*, ii. 39 *note*
- Rezasco, *Vocabolario Amministrativo*, ii. 23 *note*
- Rhone, the, i. 137
- Rialto, i. 3; the seat of government, 3, 41; meaning of the name, 3 *note*; inaccessible position, 40; chosen capital, 41
- Riario, Girolamo, i. 206
- Ribera, Francisco, commander, character of his seamanship, ii. 265; defeat, 284
- Richard Cœur de Lion, i. 262
- Ritter, *Die Union und Heinrich IV.*, ii. 214 *note*, 219 *note*, 221 *note*
- Rivoaltus or Rialto, i. 18 *note*
- Rizzo, Marin, i. 269, 273, 274; discovery of his plot, 281; arrested and strangled, 281
- Robert, Emperor, i. 143
- Rodosto, ii. 9
- Roman Index of Prohibited Books, history of the, ii. 41.
See Index
- Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, i. 18 *note*, *et seq.*; on the Spanish Conspiracy, ii. 245
- Romano, Ezzelino da, i. 116
- Rome, character of society, ii. 110, 112; aims of the papacy, 111
- Church of, policy i., 11; position of the popes, 12; union with the Franks, 14-7, 23; need for reform, 113; censorship of the press, ii. 40, 45; use of the Index, 54; development of the temporal power, 225; establishment of pope and emperor, 225; conflict between, 226; views on the supremacy in Church and State, 227; the conciliar movement, 230; character of the new papacy, 231; relations with Venice, 234, 240; rupture, 235-7; reconciliation, 239
- Roselli, *Monarchia* condemned, ii. 41, 58
- Rossi, Giovanni, ii. 99
- Piero, i. 121
- Rovollon, ii. 131
- Ruberia, Gerardo da, i. 177
- Ruzzini, Cavaliere, i. 329; attends reception of the ambassador, 330-2
- Ser Rugerius, President of the Council of Ten, i. 235
- Sabellico, his *De Vitis Principum*, i. 83; *Historia Veneta*, 275 *note*
- Sacile, i. 132
- Sadoletto, member of the "Oratory of Divine Love," ii. 114; his letters, 115, 126; a man of letters, 125; style of writing, 126; characteris-

- tics, 127; affections, 127; poverty, 128
- Sagredo, Giovanni, his mission to England, i. 324; ambassador in Paris, ii. 299; in London, 302; expenses of the embassy, 302; public entry, 303; audiences of Cromwell, 303, 305; on his appearance, 304; demands his recall, 306; return to Venice, 306; account of his embassy, 306-20
- Salamon, the Jew doctor, ii. 17
- Michiel Angelo, his quintessence of plague, i. 241-4
- Sale, i. 167, 174
- Salen, Hector, story of, ii. 152-8
- Salina, Giovanni Ortega de, ii. 103
- Salò, i. 239
- Salonica, ii. 9, 13; port of, i. 339
- Salt, monopoly of, i. 339, 344
- Saluzzo, ii. 250
- Marquis of, i. 174
- Sandi, Vettor, *I Principi di Storia Civile della Repubblica di Venezia*, i. 56 note, et seq.
- Sanquirico, i. 48 note
- Sansovino, ii. 94; *Venezia Città*, etc., i. 55 note
- Santorin, Paolo, his proposal on Free Trade, i. 358
- Santorini, i. 50
- Sanudo, Giovanni, his illness, i. 97
- Marco, receives the title of Duke of the Archipelago, i. 50
- Marino, *Vite dei Duchi*, i. 42 note, et seq.; *Cronaca Antica*, 84, 92; his request for access to state documents, ii. 45
- Sapienza, defeat at, i. 90, 124; battle of, ii. 26
- Sarpi, Francesco, ii. 209
- Paolo, his objection to state censorship of the press, ii. 48, 55; his birth, 209; parents, 209; education, 209; at Mantua, 209; Milan, 210; at the Servite monastery in Venice, 210; provincial of his Order, 211; relations with Bellarmine, 211; appearance, 212; his mode of doctoring himself, 212; characteristics, 213, 214; memory, 213; cell, 213; diet, 213; scientific mind, 215, 223; modesty, 215; his treatise on *L'arte di ben pensare*, 215; religious views, 216-9; scepticism, 217; his views on ecclesiastical politics, 219-22, 229; controversy with the Roman Curia, 219, 234-40; hatred of the Jesuits, 219, 222; literary style, 223; definition of the rights of Church and State, 235; attempts on his life, 241, 242; recovery, 242; death, 244
- Savarese's *La Scomunica di' un idea*, prohibition of, ii. 73
- Savona, i. 138
- Savoy, Armedeo of, i. 174; declares war on Milan, 184, 189
- Lewis of, i. 265
- Sax, Albert von, of Misox, seizes Bellinzona, i. 169
- Scala, Alberto, i. 119; instructions to execute the Carraresi, 119-21; imprisonment, 121
- Antonio della, i. 110, 131; defeated by Visconti, 133; flight, 133; poisoned, 133
- Bartholomew, i. 110
- Beatrice, i. 125
- Can Grande della, i. 110, 116, 127; his death, 129
- Guglielmo della, i. 146
- Mastino, league against, i. 119; disbands his army, 154
- Scaligeri, the, i. 108
- Scemsi Pasha, anecdote of, ii. 135
- Schoppius, Gaspar, ii. 44, 241
- Scipio, Dr., i. 245

- Scrivia, i. 167
 Scutari, defence of, i. 273
 Secco, Galeazzo, ii. 200
 Secretaries, College of, i. 315 ;
 their duties, 316
 Segna, i. 141
 Segura, Adam, story of, ii. 25
 Selim the Drunkard, Sultan, ii.
 134
 Selz, i. 27
 Senate, or Pregadi, i. 299 ; num-
 ber of members, 299 ; elec-
 tions, 299 ; functions, 300 ;
 series of documents, 319-21 ;
 number of volumes, 320
 Serravalle, i. 86
 Severina, Santa, head of the
 Inquisition, ii. 211
 Sforza, Attendolo, i. 171
 — Caterina, her attempt to
 poison Alexander VI., i. 250
 Shakspeare, his knowledge of
 Venice, ii. 159, 177 ; refer-
 ences to Italian towns, 160 ;
 intimacy with the language,
 161 ; *The Merchant of Venice*,
 162, 164-9 ; conception of
 the country, 163-6 ; *Othello*,
 169-79
 Sigismund, Emperor, i. 165
 Silk trade, decline in the, i. 357
 Simler, Josias, on the result of
 the Tridentine Index on the
 book trade, ii. 8
 Sirino, Girolamo, *Modo d' acqui-
 stare la Divina Gratia*, ii. 108
 Sirleto, Cardinal, ii. 156
 Sixtine Index, ii. 75 ; severity
 of, 76
 Sixtus IV., Pope, i. 206 ; his
 censorship of the press, ii. 58
 — V., Pope, his Index, ii. 74
 Socino, reverse at, i. 196
 Sokolli, Grand Vizir, ii. 135
 Soncino, i. 200
 Soranzo, Giovanni, i. 275, 276 ;
 *Viaggio da Venezia a Costan-
 tinopoli*, ii. 20 note
 — Jacopo, ii. 8
 Sorato, Zuanne, ii. 290
 Sorbonne Catalogue, ii. 63
 Spain, censorship of the press,
 ii. 62, 71 ; policy of the *Dia-
 catholicon*, 219 ; designs for
 securing supremacy in Italy,
 263
 — Philip II. of, on censorship
 of the press, ii. 56, 62
 Spanish Conspiracy, ii. 245
 Speyer, John of, ii. 94, 98
 — Wendelin of, ii. 98
 Spinelli, Gasparo, ii. 262 ; his
 despatches from Naples on the
 Spanish Conspiracy, 263-73 ;
 threat on his life, 275 ; reprim-
 anded by the Inquisitori,
 281 ; warnings on the rela-
 tions between Osuna and
 Pierre, 288-90
 Spino, Pietro, his Life of
 Colleoni, i. 204
 Spinola, Federigo, ii. 264
 — Francesco, ii. 105
 Spinosa, Captain Alessandro, ii.
 270 ; in Venice, 271 ; ap-
 pointed Governor of the
 Castle of Chioggia, 273 ; de-
 nounced by Pierre, 277 ;
 arrested, 277 ; examination,
 278 ; condemned and stran-
 gled, 279
 Spoleto, i. 11, 16
 Ssaffije, Sultana, ii. 135
 Stae, San, i. 191
 Stagnino, Bernardino, ii. 89, 93
 Stalimene, i. 50
 Stambûl, ii. 16
 Stampalia, i. 50
 Steno, episode, i. 82
 — Michel, arrested, i. 91
 — Paulo, action against, i.
 92
 Stuart, James, letters from, i.
 327
 — — Henry de Boveri Rossano,
 i. 327
 Stukeley, the adventurer, ii.
 256
 Suez Canal, proposals for cut-
 ting, i. 354 ; opening of the,
 365
 Sugana, Val, i. 174

- Sylvius, Æneas, Pope, ii. 231
 Symonds, J. A., his *Sketches in Greece and Italy*, i. 108 *note*
 Syra, i. 50
- Tagliamento, i. 44
 Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*, i. 48 *note*
 Tasso, Bernardo, ii. 93; his *Amadigi*, 99
 Taxation, system of, i. 349
Tefterdars, or treasurers, ii. 18
 Ten, Council of, appointment, i. 77; characteristics, 77; execution of conspirators, 97; trial of Marino Falier, 97-9; measures to secure peace, 100; discoveries against Novello Carrara, 148; decision to arrest Carmagnola, 200; use of political assassination, 234; tenders received, 235-7; quality and number of assassins, 237; case of Michelotto Mudazzo, 238-40; attempt to destroy the Turkish army, 240-4; date of its creation, 307; position, 307; establishment of sub-commissions, 308; series of documents, 325; resolution on the Index, ii. 66; censorship of the press, 77; receives Bragadin, 193; tests his nugget, 195; condemns Spinosa, 279
 Tenda, Beatrice di, her marriage, i. 161; executed, 163
 Tenedos, island of, i. 86
 Tenivelli, *Biografia Piemontese*, i. 162 *note*
 Theodoric the Great, i. 1
 Theophanes, extract from, i. 6 *note, et seq.*
 Theophilus, Emperor, i. 6
 Thiene, Gaetano, member of the "Oratory of Divine Love," ii. 114
 Tiepolo, Antonio, ii. 16
 — Bajamonte, site of his house, i. 48; motives of his conspiracy, 49; elected a member of the Supreme Court of the Quarantia, 69; character, 70; arrival in Venice, 70; plot against the doge, 71; defeated, 71; exiled, 75; death, 76
 Tiepolo, Jacopo, competitor for the ducal chair, i. 57; election, 57; withdraws, 62
 — Doge Lorenzo, i. 69
 — *Statuti Nautici*, i. 347 *note*
 Titian, his portrait of Caterina Cornaro, i. 271
 Tolentino, i. 183
 Torbiato, ii. 185
 Torcello, i. 18 *note*, 32
 Torelli, Guido, i. 169, 171
 Toricella, i. 200
 Tormene, *Il Bailaggio a Costantinopoli di Givolamo Hippomano*, ii. 8 *note, et seq.*
 Trade, Free, proposals for, i. 357-9; decline of, 351-6
 Treaty between Venice and the Turks, ii. 3; terms, 4
 Trebizond, Biagio Catena, Archbishop of, his offer to assassinate, i. 235
 Trent, i. 143, 174
 — Council of the Ten *Regulæ*, ii. 55
 Trevisan, Domenico, on the corn trade, ii. 27
 — Nicolò, his chronicle of the Falier conspiracy, i. 83, 91
 — his defeat, i. 196
 — Stefanello, i. 94
 Treviso, i. 27, 85, 115, 119, 174; invested, 124; siege, 131; occupied, 135
 Trezzo, siege of, i. 165
 Tridentine Index, ii. 72, 80; result on the book trade, 81
 Trieste, subdued, i. 126
 Trino, ii. 88; the printers of, 89
 Tripoli, Count of, i. 274
 Trissino, Leonardo, i. 292 *note*
 Tron, Andrea, his report on

the decline in Venetian industries, i. 364
 Turbia, i. 137
 Turin, peace of, i. 131
 Turkey, Sultan of, presents received by, ii. 19; reception of the *bailo*, 20
 — treaty with Venice, ii. 3; amount of trade with Venice, 24; relations, 34; wars, 35, 296
 Turkish army, attempt to destroy, i. 240-4
 Tuscany, Bianca Capella, Grand Duchess of, ii. 184
 — Grand Duke of, throws open Leghorn, i. 352
 Type-foundry, opening of the, ii. 99
 Tyrannicide, views on, i. 220-3
 Udinesi, the, i. 132
 Udny, John, consul at Venice, i. 329
 Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i. 27 *note*, 29 *note*
 Unterwald, canton of, i. 169
 Urban VII., Pope, ii. 211
 Urbino, i. 15
 Uri, canton of, i. 169
 Uskiup, ii. 9
 Uzeda, Duke of, ii. 253
 Valdes, Fernando, Inquisitor-General in Spain, ii. 62
 Valenti, Michel, ii. 294
 Valentino, Duke of, i. 245
 Valfenarior, i. 182, 183, 192
 Valgrisi, Erasmo di Vincenzo, *Catalogo*, etc., ii. 65
 Valsugana, i. 131
 Vecellio, *Cesare*, *Habiti Antichi e Moderni*, i. 259 *note*
 Velutelli, Accerbo, i. 357
 Vendrame, reveals the plot, i. 95
 Venecia, i. 2 *note*; meaning of the name, 3 *note*
 Venice, its origin, i. 1; population, 2; various uses of the

word, 2 *note*; Rialto, the seat of government, 3, 41; influence of the East, 4, 10, 36; West, 11; evolution, 4, 10, 17; the Church, 11; position, 17; the twelve confederate islands, 17; their federation, 18; rivalry for the leadership, 20; election of the first doge, 20; dukedom abolished, 22; restored, 23; result of the union between the Church and the Franks, 23; revolution, 35, 66; forced to furnish a contingent, 36, 38; result of her policy, 37; rejects union with the Franks, 38; measures of defence, 39; victory over the Franks, 40; an independent state, 41; sight of Tiepolo's house, 48; result of peace, 50; islands of the Archipelago conceded to, 50; new commercial aristocracy, 51; policy of the party, 52, 60; functions and privileges of the dukedom curtailed, 53, 56, 59; legislative council, the *Maggior Consiglio*, 54, 61; mode of election, 54 *note*; establishment of the college of six *Consiglieri Ducali*, 55; the college of the *Pregadi*, 56; *Correttori della Promissione Ducali*, appointed, 57; reform of the system of election, 58; terms of the *Serrata del Maggior Consiglio*, 63; result of the statute, 65; excommunication, 67, ii. 232, 238; rebellion of Bajamonte Tiepolo, i. 70-4; suppression, 74; development of a police system, 76; Council of Ten appointed, 77, 106, 307; conspiracy of Falier, 79-106; surrenders Dalmatia, 114; in possession of Treviso, 119;

relations with the Carraresi, 122-7; war with Hungary, 124; with Carrara, 127, 147; victory of Lova, 128; treachery towards Carrara, 128; peace concluded, 129; league against, 134; political conditions, 175; appoints Carmagnola commander-in-chief, 176, 179, 194; league with Florence, 179; concludes peace with the Visconti, 194; acquires the Bresciano, 184; dissatisfaction with Carmagnola, 189, 198; use of political assassination, 232; typical cases, 234; tenders received, 235-7; quality and number of assassins, 237; characteristics of women, 256, 257; noble ladies, 257; young girls, 258-61; defence of Cyprus, 275, 279; treatment of the Queen, 276, 278-80; garrisons Cyprus, 277; discovery of a plot, 281; forces Caterina to abdicate, 282; establishes a constitution, 283; unique position, 293; character of the archives, 294; multiplicity of offices, 294; disposition of the state papers, 295, 316; the four departments, 296; the Great Council, 297-9; the Senate or Pregadi, 299; Collegio, or cabinet of ministers, 300-3; the doge, 303-6; administration of justice, 309-12; subdivision of government, 312; political training, 313; chancelleries, or collections of state papers, 313-8; office of Grand Chancellor, 315; duties of the secretaries, 316; relations with England, 321, 323-5, ii. 297; commercial and fiscal policy, i. 335; geographical position,

338, 343, 365; natural products, 339, 344; command of the markets, 340; of the trade route, 341; theory of the *Dominante*, or ruling city, 342; protection of industries, 344; guild system, 345; rules for the proper manufacture of goods, 345; protection of the mercantile marine, 346; obtains command of the Gulf, 346; the Levant, 347; *Statuti Nautici*, 347; rights of citizenship, 348; system of taxation, 349; export and import duty, 350; reasons for the decline of her trade, 351-6; creation of the board of trade, 356; the currant trade, 357; decline in the silk trade, 357; proposals on Free Trade, 358; repeal of the import duty, 360; refuses to grant freedom of transit, 361; commercial treaty negotiations with England, 361-4; diplomatic service, ii. 1; treaty with the Turks, 3; trade with Turkey, 24; supply of corn, 26; relations with Turkey, 34; loss of Cyprus, 35; censorship of the press, 39, 76-9; book trade, 39, 81; publication of the first Index, 64, 95; deterioration of the printing press, 98; opening of a type-foundry, 99; relations with Rome, 234-40; rupture, 235-7; reconciliation, 239; episode of the Spanish Conspiracy, 245; discovery of the plot, 291-3; decline, 258; decrease in the population, 258; social conditions, 258, 261; reception of Henry III., 260; trade of denouncement, 261; war with Turkey, 296

Venier, Lorenzo, the Venetian

- admiral, victory over Ribera, ii. 284
- Venier, Marco, ii. 22
- Ventimiglia, i. 137
- Vercelli, recovery of, i. 165
- Verci, *Storia della Marca Trevigiana*, i. 75 note, et seq.
- Vergerio, Pier Paolo, *Il Catalogo de Libri*, ii. 65; his opinion of the Archbishop of Milan's Catalogue, 67
- Vergerius, *Vita Carrariensium*, i. 112 note, 116 note, 117 note, 118 note, 122 note
- Verme, Jacopo dal, i. 135
- Vermigli, P. M., ii. 64
- Verona, i. 88, 115, ii. 163; fall of, i. 133, 147
- Veronese, Paolo, his portrait of Caterina Cornaro, i. 271
- Vettori, Francesco, on the character of the pontiffs, ii. 232
- Vianoli, *Hist. Venet.*, i. 70 note, 71 note
- Vicenza, i. 115, 116; occupied, 133; yields to Venice, 146
- Vido, Berti, i. 90
- Vienne, i. 137
- Vignati, Giovanni, lord of Lodi, i. 164; seized and hanged, 165
- Vigne di Pera, ii. 15
- Vilandrino, i. 250
- Villani, Matteo, i. 83, 87
- Villiers, George, ii. 256
- Visconti, Antonia, her second marriage, i. 167
- Bernabò, i. 111; claims Verona, 129
- Estore, expelled from Milan, i. 163
- Filippo Maria, his attempts to recover his duchy, i. 160, 163-6; peculiar temperament, 161; passion for intrigue, 161; marriage, 161; enters Milan, 163; restoration of the duchy, 167; attack on Genoa, 169; his Swiss campaign, 170; relations with Carmagnola, 170-4, 177; attempt to poison him, 177; war with Florence, 177; negotiations with Carmagnola, 182, 185, 189, 192, 194, 200; concludes peace, 184; attack on his camp, 188
- Visconti, Francesco Barbavara, i. 167
- Galeazzo, i. 109
- Giancarlo, expelled from Milan, i. 163
- Gian Galeazzo, seizes Verona, i. 132; alliance with Carrara, 133; occupies Vicenza, 133; league against, 142; his policy, 143; crowned Duke of Milan, 143; advance on Bologna, 144; death, 145
- Giovanni Maria, murdered, i. 160
- Marco, ii. 272
- Viterbo, i. 15, ii. 131
- Vitturi, Messer Zuanne, ii. 11
- Wislingen, Werner, Duke of, elected Captain of the Grand Company, i. 154
- Women of Venice, their characteristics, i. 256, 257; life, 257; dress, 257
- Worms, Imperial Edict of, ii. 60
- Wotton, Sir Henry, appointed ambassador to Venice, i. 322, 329; on the case of Henry Parvis, ii. 33; on Sarpi, 213, 214
- Yriarte, *La Vie d'un Patricien de Venise*, i. 256 note, 261 note
- Zaccaria, Abbess of San, i. 17 note
- *Storia polemica delle proiezioni de' Libri*, ii. 40 note
- Zachary, i. 14
- Zagonara, defeat at, i. 177
- Zancarolo, i. 84

- Zane, Hieronimo, ii. 5 *note*
 — Matteo, ii. 28
 Zanetti, Bartolomeo, ii. 93
 Zanino da Cremona, i. 92
 Zante, sale of currants, i. 357
 Zara, i. 46 ; siege of, 86
 Zeno, Carlo, i. 151
 — Renier, i. 59 *note* ; his
 Statuta, 347 *note*
 Ziani, Pietro, abdication, i. 57 ;
 his creation of the Great
 Council, 297
 Ziani, Sebastian, elected doge,
 i. 53
 Ziera, Stefano, i. 88
 Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des os-*
 manischen Reiches, ii. 4 *note*
 Zonta, or addition, i. 299
 Zorzi, Alexander, ii. 200
 — Moreto, arrested, i. 91
 Zucuol, Costantino, i. 90
 — Nicolò, his opposition to the
 conspiracy, i. 94
 Zurich, i. 140

